



Brown, Stephen Allan Charles (2018) *Comply or transform? College ESOL programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland*. Ed.D thesis.

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**Comply or Transform? College ESOL Programmes as
a Potential Source of Emancipation for Immigrant
Communities in Scotland**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctorate in Education (EdD.)

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Submitted to the Library of the University of Glasgow
March 2018

Abstract

In Scotland, where large numbers of immigrants come from non-English speaking countries, a national strategy exists to promote the effective provision of courses in English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), with a view to facilitating integration and participation in Scottish society. From a critical perspective, this vision implies an approach to ESOL that draws on theories of critical pedagogy, which seeks to create '...an informed, critical citizenry capable of participating and governing in a democratic society' (Giroux 2011: 7). However, in a climate of neoliberal economic policymaking and the prioritisation of economic interests over social justice, there is pressure instead for education to '...create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur' (Olssen et al 2004: 136). Such pressure obliges learners to compete and function within social constructs, which entails an uncritical acceptance of existing structural inequalities and therefore runs counter to the principles of critical pedagogy.

This dissertation focuses on ESOL provision in Scottish Further Education (FE) colleges, where the bulk of state-funded ESOL delivery takes place. The study explored perceptions among three key stakeholder groups – in policy, among practitioners and among learners – in order to examine the extent to which emancipation, as a social project, is perceived as an important feature of ESOL programmes. The research was composed of three parts: a policy analysis, which included a critical discourse analysis of the revised Adult ESOL Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government 2015a), a study of the views of ESOL practitioners as expressed in responses to a questionnaire, and an analysis of the views of a group of ESOL learners, who participated in interviews.

Critical interpretive analysis of the research data suggests that, despite an apparent awareness of the negative impact of existing power structures on the successful inclusion of immigrants into Scottish society, perceptions across all three stakeholder groups appear to support neoliberal ideology rather than a collective movement towards societal transformation. This finding implies that any potential for college ESOL

programmes to emancipate learners is seriously undermined, or indeed removed completely.

By taking a critical perspective, the research itself seeks to be emancipatory in attempting to expose the impact of these stakeholder perceptions on the extent to which social justice can be achieved for residents in Scotland whose first language is not English. The intention is for this dissertation to act as an interpellation. In the political sense, it challenges policymakers to explain and justify ESOL and FE policy in light of these research findings and their implications for social inclusion. The interpellation also extends to ESOL practitioners, calling on them to reflect critically on their praxis, the values inherent therein, and how these values impact on their learners.

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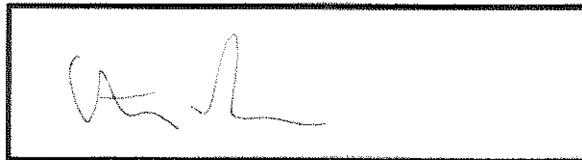
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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except when explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work, and has not been submitted for publication or for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature appears to be 'SAC Brown'.

Printed Name: Stephen Allan Charles Brown

Date: 02/03/2018

Table 1: List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| CDA: | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| CfE: | Curriculum for Excellence |
| CLT: | Communicative Language Teaching |
| DYW: | Developing the Young Workforce |
| EFL: | English as a Foreign Language |
| ELT: | English Language Teaching |
| ESOL: | English to Speakers of Other Languages |
| EU: | European Union |
| FE: | Further Education |
| HCT: | Human Capital Theory |
| IATEFL: | International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language |
| KPIs: | Key Performance Indicators |
| NATECLA: | National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages |
| NEET: | Not in Employment, Education or Training |
| NIACE: | National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education |
| PARSNIP: | Politics, Alcohol, Religion, Sex, Narcotics, Isms and Pork (topics commonly avoided in English language teaching materials produced for a global market) |
| SCQF: | Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework |
| SFC: | Scottish Funding Council |
| SLA: | Second Language Acquisition |
| SNP: | Scottish National Party |
| SQA: | Scottish Qualifications Authority |
| STEM: | Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics |
| TBLT: | Task-Based Language Teaching |
| TESOL: | Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages |
| UK: | United Kingdom |
| UKIP: | United Kingdom Independence Party |
| USA: | United States of America |

Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to write this dissertation without the help and support of others, whom I would like to thank here. Nicki Hedge and Penny Enslin have developed an EdD programme that opened my eyes to so many new concepts; my thanks go to them and to all the other tutors who worked on my course at the University of Glasgow. I am also grateful to my supervisor, Professor Bob Davis, for his relentless enthusiasm and encouragement. I must also thank everyone who participated in my research study. This includes ESOL learners, whose diverse backgrounds and original ideas inspired the focus of my dissertation in the first place, and college ESOL practitioners, who show a tremendous level of commitment and dedication in what are exceptionally challenging circumstances. My colleagues at West College Scotland deserve special thanks for supporting and encouraging me throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis.

Most importantly though, the time I spent writing this thesis had the biggest impact on my family. My parents have always been there for me and once again I must thank them for their support and positivity. My wife Holly, and my children Jools and Connie, have been incredibly understanding and patient, and I owe them a massive debt of gratitude. Without their tolerance, understanding and support this dissertation would not have been written.

Introduction

Human migration is by no means a recent phenomenon (Lucassen et al 2010). However, in recent decades the world's population has become increasingly mobile, a fact that is both a result of, and a contributing factor towards, the phenomenon of globalisation (OECD 2009: 31).

Globalisation, or the process of economic, cultural and political internationalisation (Olssen et al 2004: 4), brings with it many opportunities to promote international understanding, and to reduce inequalities and social injustice. However, since the early 1980s globalisation has become increasingly associated with neoliberal models of socio-economic governance, to the extent that '...the dominant social view of globalization...is a "neo-liberal" one' (Rizvi 2007: 121). Within a neoliberal construct, which relies on market forces and self-adjustment rather than regulation through government intervention (Palley 2005), transnational migration creates the facility of '...a flexible workforce to be deployed at the discretion of global capital' (Guo 2010a: 144).

However, while transnational migration plays an important role in mobilising people to meet the employment needs of international corporations, it also has an inevitable societal impact, and has become an increasingly divisive political issue in recent years, particularly in countries that have experienced increased inward migration (Castles 2010).

Mainland European nations have seen a rise in anti-immigration sentiment among the existing European population, and a consequent rise in the popularity of far-Right parties (Van Spanje 2010), which are hostile to both immigrants and globalisation. In the USA, Donald Trump's successful presidential election campaign can, to a large extent, be attributed to his pledges to build a wall on the Mexican border, to ban Muslims from entering the country, and, more generally, to put 'America first' (Witte and Birnbaum 2018). In the UK, freedom of movement for European Union (EU) nationals and the resulting increase in inward migration to the UK played a major role in the debate on EU membership that led to the 2016 referendum result (Curtice 2016), which has mandated the UK government to start the process of leaving the EU.

Transnational migration, then, is far more than a phenomenon that impacts the economy. It has created, and continues to create, diverse communities with a range of cultures, religions, political outlooks and languages - which in turn can cause tensions within and between social groups (Cutts et al 2009). Such tensions present challenges to governments with regard to maintaining equality, inclusion, tolerance and social justice in these increasingly diverse polities. Immigrants arriving in a new country must somehow be accommodated into their new environment, but this process is by no means straightforward and brings with it risks of exclusion, marginalisation, segregation and disenfranchisement. The successful settlement of immigrants is therefore an important element of social policy that requires considerable strategic planning (Cheong et al 2007).

In Scotland, where around 94% of the population uses English as a first language (Scotland's Census 2011), immigrants whose first language is not English are, potentially, placed at a considerable disadvantage, both socially and economically. Foucault claimed that '...power is exercised by virtue of things being known and people being seen' (Foucault 1980a: 154). Living in an environment where information is presented in an unknown or unfamiliar language restricts access to that information, and this limited access to knowledge has a disempowering impact. Conversely, learning the country's dominant language opens communication lines between immigrants and the settled population, and amongst immigrants from diverse linguistic backgrounds, greatly increasing access to information and capability (Cooke 2009). Furthermore, there are clear practical benefits to learning English for migrants living in Scotland, as it facilitates everyday activities and transactions and increases employment opportunities. This suggests, then, that programmes which teach English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) can play a key role in empowering individual immigrants by giving them the linguistic capabilities to function more effectively in an English-speaking society (Ward 2008). Indeed, learning English also makes it possible for immigrants to engage actively and directly with society in a

transformative way, by seeking to address issues of inequality or exclusion that vulnerable immigrants often experience (Millbourne 2002).

Scotland has experienced considerable inward migration over the last 15 years or so (Migration Observatory 2013a), and the current Scottish Government presents itself as an administration that recognises the value of learning English to immigrants and to society - clearly demonstrated through its national ESOL Strategy (Scottish Executive 2007, Scottish Government 2015a), which presents the following vision:

That all Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision so that they can acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life: in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, Scottish society and the economy. These language skills are central to giving people a democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live. (Scottish Executive 2007: 4).

Like all policy documents, however, the ESOL Strategy contains certain ambiguities that leave it open to interpretation. For example, what constitutes 'high quality English language provision'? What language teaching principles and language acquisition theories need to be applied to ensure provision is 'high quality'? Also, what does it mean to 'participate in Scottish life'? Does this require immigrants to conform to the existing norms of Scottish life, or is there scope for them to shape societal development? Is the level and nature of participation dictated by the needs of the host society, or can immigrants themselves make these choices? Does the desire for immigrants to 'contribute to the society in which they live' describe a hope that immigrants will have a transformative impact on society, or is their contribution limited to serving the needs of the host society by, for example, filling gaps in the labour market? How is it possible for immigrants to have a 'democratic voice' when many of them are politically disenfranchised?

All of these questions relate to the issue of *emancipation* - whether ESOL programmes are used to free immigrants from the vulnerable and marginalised positions they often find themselves in by engaging them in

societal development, or whether the host society seeks to use ESOL provision as a means of channelling immigrants' 'participation' and 'contributions' in ways that benefit those who already hold positions of power.

The ambiguities that exist in the ESOL Strategy mean that the nature and impact of its implementation depend heavily on how it is interpreted by key stakeholders involved in ESOL delivery. The contexts in which ESOL is taught are also likely to affect how readily these interpretations of the Strategy can be realised. However, I have been unable to find any published research that meaningfully explores these ambiguities or interpretations. Existing literature on ESOL delivery consists largely of research conducted by Education Scotland (see for example Education Scotland 2014), a quasi-autonomous organisation that is funded by the Scottish Government. Little or no empirical *academic* research has been conducted to explore the concepts and assumptions embedded within ESOL policy or practice. As someone heavily involved in ESOL management and delivery in the Further Education (FE) sector, in which most state-funded ESOL provision is located, I have identified this lack of critical engagement with ESOL policy and practice as a factor that inhibits effective analysis of the role, or potential role, of ESOL in the emancipation of immigrants and the resulting impact it could have on Scottish society. This in turn implies a need for academic research to explore - and stimulate further engagement with - these concepts.

This dissertation, then, is concerned with the concept of emancipation and the potential for college ESOL programmes to contribute to the emancipation of immigrant communities in Scotland whose first language is not English. To engage effectively with this topic it is important to establish clear definitions of the concepts that will be addressed. I will therefore start, in Chapter 1, by analysing and problematising the key concept of emancipation, and the various issues that relate to immigration, the vulnerability of immigrants and different models that can be used to facilitate their settlement. In Chapter 2 I apply these concepts and issues to the context of ESOL education, and present a framework

that can be used to analyse how different approaches to ESOL facilitate different models of immigrant settlement.

Chapter 3 describes the empirical research that I conducted for this dissertation, and the methodology used. Essentially, this research seeks to explore how ESOL is perceived by three key stakeholder groups: in *policy discourse*, by *practitioners* and by *learners*. I performed three different studies to gather data from each of these sources. This data is presented and analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 7 provides further critical interpretive analysis of the research findings with regard to the role of college ESOL programmes in the emancipation of vulnerable migrants. In Chapter 8 I evaluate the effectiveness and potential implications of the study and its findings, make recommendations for further research, and offer some final evaluative reflections.

I approach the research from a critical perspective. Yin states that ‘...critical theory assumes a singular realism – but one heavily based on historical power relationships’ (Yin 2016: 22). Such a perspective draws heavily on Foucault’s theories about power-knowledge (Olssen et al 2004: 21), recognising - and actively seeking to expose - the use of power by dominant forces to shape widely held perceptions of reality. Taking a critical approach to academic research and enquiry is effectively a form of *activism* (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 114) in that it requires the researcher to identify and seek to address power imbalances. Critical theory aims to be emancipatory, and makes no attempt to avoid the value-ladenness of this endeavour. I should declare from the outset, then, my view that education can and should play a key role in addressing inequalities and promoting social justice. By locating my research within a critical paradigm, and by taking an interpretive approach to the study, I have been able to use my positionality within the research topic as a means of enhancing the process of data interpretation; this aspect of the study is detailed in Chapter 3 and referred to at various points thereafter.

As this dissertation focuses on perceptions in policy, among practitioners and among learners, it is anticipated that the data and findings will stimulate relevant and useful discussion regarding the planning,

implementation and impact of ESOL provision across a range of stakeholder groups.

Chapter 1: Background, Context and Key Concepts

Conceptualising Emancipation

Philosophical and Critical Background

In this chapter I introduce and explore the key concepts pertaining to my thesis. I will start by analysing the concept of emancipation, presenting two contrasting interpretations of this term – from a liberal perspective and also from a Marxist perspective. I will then provide some background to the issue of immigration in Scotland, before moving on to examine different possible models for the settlement of immigrants coming to Scotland. As I approach these concepts from a critical perspective, my focus is on identifying ways in which existing power imbalances maintain the potential for social injustice, and on establishing frames of analysis that allow these imbalances to be exposed, explored and addressed.

To gain a clear understanding of emancipation and the potential role of education in its development, it is useful to gain some historical context by looking back at the work of liberal philosophers during the Enlightenment period. In his landmark essay 'What is Enlightenment?' (Kant 1784), Kant described how people are incapable of thinking for themselves as a result of their "nonage" – their dependence on someone else to guide their thoughts and actions. What was therefore required to emancipate people from this dependence, he argued, was the development of mankind's capacity to think freely. This capacity for autonomous rational thought would, according to Kant, bring about 'enlightenment', as individuals become liberated from the 'guardians' who control both their thoughts and actions. The development of rational autonomy among individuals, Kant argued, would lead to a society that is naturally more accommodating of free thought, leading in turn to increased equality and social justice:

At last free thought acts even on the fundamentals of government and the state finds it agreeable to treat man, who is now more than a machine, in accord with his dignity. (Kant 1784).

In these terms, emancipation is about liberating people from positions of subservience, which can be achieved if people learn to become independent in their thinking. While Kant identified how institutions such as the Church used education to reinforce subservience through indoctrination, he also identified education as a means of promoting autonomous rational thought (Biesta 2010: 42). This style of liberalism continues to play a key role in educational philosophy, as I discuss later in this chapter and throughout my thesis.

However, simply giving people the wherewithal to think freely and behave autonomously may not necessarily lead to their emancipation in the manner Kant foresaw. Like the liberal philosophers of the Enlightenment period, Karl Marx felt strongly that the oppressed classes needed to achieve freedom. However, Marx argued that the liberal-bourgeois societies that were emerging from the Enlightenment period, like the authoritarian regimes they had replaced, still failed to address inequality and oppression. His main criticism of so-called "liberal" approaches to emancipation was that they focused entirely on the political freedom of the individual, neglecting the fact that individuals are defined by their social context: 'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but their social being that determines their consciousness' (Marx 1993: 4).

Emancipation was, in Marx's view, an essentially *social* phenomenon:

Human emancipation will only be complete when the real individual man has absorbed into himself the abstract citizen...and when he has recognized and organized his own powers (*forces propres*) as social powers so that he no longer separated his social power from himself as political power. (Marx/Engels 1978: 46).

Marx perceived emancipation as an unresolved struggle that can only be achieved by overcoming the existing *class* divisions that perpetuate social inequalities. This analysis goes far beyond the limits of individualism, requiring people to engage collectively with their environment, because it is impossible for the true emancipation of individuals to take place without change occurring on a societal level at the same time. While liberalism sought to achieve emancipation within the existing constructs of the state,

Marx identified the state as a vehicle for exploiting the proletariat, because it was intrinsically designed to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie (for more on Marx's critique of the emancipatory potential of liberalism see Schmied-Kowarzik 1983).

The key distinction, then, between liberal and Marxist definitions of emancipation lies in the fact that a liberal perspective equates *emancipation* with *empowerment*. By empowering the individual through the development of key skills for autonomous thought and practice, the individual can become emancipated - liberated from any disadvantaged position that they may be in as they gain intellectual capacities that allow them to get out of this position. However, from a Marxist perspective, this model allows the structures that locate people in positions of subjugation to remain in place; it most certainly does not address the root of the problem, namely the fact that a large percentage of the population continues to be oppressed, disadvantaged, marginalised and/or disenfranchised. The Marxist idea that '...there could be no individual emancipation without wider societal transformation' (Biesta 2010: 43) requires '...the analysis of oppressive structures, practices, and theories' (ibid.) in order to expose the injustice inherent therein. This has become an essential component of critical approaches to education, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Distinguishing Emancipation from Empowerment

From a Marxist perspective, then, individual empowerment is not sufficient in the struggle for emancipation, as it does not address the imbalance of power that exists on a systemic, societal level. True emancipation can only occur if existing power structures are challenged and power re-distributed more equally. This distinction between empowerment and emancipation is made clearly and succinctly by Tom Inglis thus:

...empowerment involves people developing capacities to act successfully within the existing system and structures of power, while emancipation concerns critically analysing, resisting and challenging structures of power. (Inglis 1997: 4).

Inglis is critical of liberal attitudes towards emancipation because they lack a focus on bringing about any social or structural change. A liberal approach *cannot* be truly emancipatory as it only serves to perpetuate existing power structures. He does this by referring to Foucault's conceptualisation of power (which is also a key concept in this study):

...a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them.
(Foucault 1980b: 136, quoted in Inglis 1997: 12).

While power was used in the past to marginalise or subjugate those who challenged the system, Inglis argues that liberal attempts to develop rational autonomy are now used to make individuals work *for* the system. Action that aims to empower and transform on an individual level, therefore, is a means of encouraging people to "buy into" the current structure and for this structure, and individuals themselves, to become self-regulating:

Empowerment...is about encouraging workers to rationally choose to commit themselves to the values, goals, policies, and objectives of the organization as a rational means of improving their life chances. (Inglis 1997: 6).

Inglis acknowledges that the development of individual autonomy is a prerequisite for emancipation but, rather than achieving emancipation in its own right, a philosophy that does not encourage and develop individuals' capacities to challenge and transform society can in fact be used as a means of ensuring that people continue to comply with hegemonic norms.

Indeed, it can be argued that the promotion of empowerment and autonomy *within* existing societal constructs could simply facilitate a form of panopticism. In his analysis of discipline, Foucault described how hierarchical forces seek to turn individuals into 'docile bodies', so that they will perform the tasks required of them by those in power (Foucault 1977). Gillies (2011) updates this metaphor for the contemporary neoliberal context by using the term 'agile bodies', whereby individuals and organisations are required to adopt '...a more dynamic and proactive position than that previously afforded by mere "flexibility"' (Gillies 2011:

207). Gillies argues that placing the responsibility on individuals to adapt and conform to the demands of a changing society can be interpreted as a '...subtle, insidious form of governance where ends can still be aimed at merely by shaping actors' own choices' (Gillies 2011: 215). Within such a construct, individuals become self-regulating, and "empowerment" becomes, in effect, compliance with the requirements of hegemonic forces.

The above conceptual analysis leads to the conclusion that emancipation requires the transformation of society as a whole, rather than the empowerment of individuals. This distinction between empowerment and emancipation is significant when contrasted with liberal philosophy, which regards empowerment, in and of itself, as the key to emancipation, achievable through '...a process of becoming independent or autonomous' (Biesta 2010: 42). The goal of liberalism, namely to "free" people from the constraints imposed upon them by those in power, is shared by Marxist and post-Marxist schools of thought. However, the liberal view assumes that this freedom can be achieved within the existing constructs of the state, and that the state will adapt – through processes of democratic accountability - as its citizens become more enlightened. History shows us that, despite the development of "liberal democracy" as the standard democratic model in most so-called developed nations, wealth inequality continues to seriously undermine equality of opportunity (Hills 2013: 4). The societal impact of this, particularly on the freedoms and wellbeing of impoverished communities, is well documented (see for example a study by Muntaner et al (2002), which focuses on the impact of economic inequality on public health). Therefore, any attempt to emancipate vulnerable individuals or groups should not seek to do so within the constructs created by existing hegemonic forces. Emancipatory projects should instead seek to provide vulnerable or disenfranchised people with the capacities to challenge the status quo and find ways to transform society.

This dissertation is concerned with the potential role of ESOL provision in the Scottish FE sector as a source of emancipation for learners. It is therefore necessary to establish a clear definition of this concept. When I

use the word “emancipation”, then, I refer to a social phenomenon. When I discuss the potential for college ESOL programmes to emancipate learners, I mean the extent to which ESOL programmes can provide learners with the knowledge, skills and other capacities to have a transformative impact on society, challenging existing hegemonies that maintain inequality and injustice as institutional prerequisites.

In Chapter 2 I will explore the educational implications of the emancipation-empowerment distinction and the potential benefits of an emancipatory approach to ESOL. Before that, though, and in order to establish a rationale for seeking to emancipate ESOL learners in the first place, I will examine the issues surrounding immigration and the situations in which immigrants may find themselves when they arrive in Scotland.

Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Transnational Migration

In order to provide some background and context to immigration and ESOL provision in Scotland, I start by exploring the phenomenon of globalisation which, as mentioned in the Introduction, is largely driven by the approach to political economy known as *neoliberalism*. Drawing upon the work of economists such as Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of economics (Olssen et al 2004: 142-146), neoliberalism is defined by Harvey as:

...a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (Harvey 2005: 2).

Unlike liberalism, which seeks to promote a fair society through legislation implemented by the state, or socialism, which seeks (ideally) to use state resources as a means of transferring power to the people, neoliberalism prescribes a diminished role of the state¹, relying instead on market forces

¹The removal of state control implies parallels between neoliberalism and anarchism. While many individualist anarchists – often referred to as libertarians – support neoliberalism for this reason, the failure of neoliberalism to remove power from multinational corporations, or address

to serve and regulate society. The increased recourse over several decades to the neoliberal provision of public goods (e.g. health, infrastructure and transport) has led to '...a qualitative shift in both policy and ideology against government intervention, which was condemned as collectivist, socialist and economically misguided' (Levitas 1986: 3). Features of globalisation such as real-time communication and developments in international travel and transportation, combined with less heavily regulated, neoliberal forms of governance, have allowed multinational corporations in particular to flourish as providers of public goods, and it is the rise of this style of corporate power, in which '...international trade...[is]...relatively unregulated and capital...[can]...flow freely across borders' (Nolan 2008: 48) that is commonly associated with globalisation in the late 20th and early 21st century.

In defining neoliberalism, Olssen et al (2004) stress its impact on individuals within society, and the incentive for nation states to '...create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur' (Olssen et al 2004: 136). Competition is a key tenet of neoliberalism, and the ability of individuals to influence production by making choices in the market is presented as a form of freedom and autonomy. However, as well as making choices as consumers, individuals also become commodities *within* the market - as potential sources of labour for employers. This gives rise to the concept of the Knowledge Economy, which stresses the need for individuals to acquire certain knowledge and skills in order to meet the demands of present and future employers, the assumption being that employers increasingly draw on the intellectual - rather than physical - capacities of their employees (Kennedy 2012). This conceptualisation of knowledge as a commodity necessarily impacts on education, as I will explore in more detail in Chapter 2 and refer to at various points throughout this dissertation.

wealth inequality, places it in direct opposition to social anarchist theory, as demonstrated by organisations such as the Occupy Movement (Chomsky 2012), as well as other leftist ideologies such as contemporary Marxism.

² While ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) is the most widely used acronym to describe the teaching of English to long-term residents in English-speaking countries, the

The increase in power afforded to multinational corporations through neoliberal economic and political choices, and the reconfiguration of individuals as employees in a global “jobs market”, have been key factors in the rise of transnational migration. In a neoliberal world, global industry expects labour to move in response to demand (Guo 2010a). While it may be argued that creating opportunities to improve individual economic situations by moving to another part of the world is aspirational and empowering, the fact that power remains firmly with corporate employers, with regard to terms of the location and the nature of employment, demonstrates that transnational migration leads in fact to the *disempowerment* of migrants. Guo (2010a) points out that ‘...transnational migration tends to move one way: from less developed nations to advanced industrial countries’ (Guo 2010a: 143), and migrants arriving in developed countries can often experience immediate inequality in the form of under-employment, social exclusion and lack of access to education (for more see Guo 2010b). Of course, the level of disempowerment experienced by migrants varies according to a number of factors, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

In addition to the rise of transnational migration to meet the needs of global industry, there are other reasons for human movement. Natural disasters, political oppression and war can all lead people to flee their homes and seek asylum elsewhere. It is reasonable to regard a government that fulfils its international obligations by welcoming asylum seekers and refugees into its country as a compassionate one. Unlike economic migrants, refugees are commonly accepted into a country in order to ensure their safety, rather than to meet gaps in the labour market. However, it is also important to consider the wider context with regard to refugees and asylum seekers. In 2016, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria all featured in the top 10 countries of origin of asylum seekers to the UK (Migration Observatory 2017: Table 1). These are all countries where UK military involvement has contributed to their destabilisation. Other countries on this list include Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Nigeria (ibid.) - all former UK colonies or imperial possessions. While it is possible to view the UK’s ‘proud history of granting protection to those who need

it' (UK Government 2014) as a form of compassion, it is also worth considering the UK's past and current position in the world, actions taken to preserve its status as a dominant force on the world stage, and the humanitarian impact of these decisions. Such an analysis, which goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, may reveal historic examples of imperialism, exploitation or even tyranny that could lead us to view the present hospitality towards refugees as being less of an act of altruistic kindness and more of a moral obligation to atone for past injustices.

To summarise this section, transnational migration in the first part of the 21st century has been driven by the demands of global industry and facilitated by neoliberal politics on the one hand, and by political oppression or destabilisation on the other. We can therefore conclude that, while the possibility for individuals to move from one nation to another may seem like the provision of an attractive opportunity for disadvantaged or vulnerable individuals, these same individuals are in fact victims of hegemonic forces entirely beyond their control. The disempowerment that comes with moving to another country under such circumstances - particularly to a country where one does not speak the language - suggests that many migrants who come to the UK - for whatever reason - are likely to experience some form of vulnerability. I will now explore the issue of vulnerability among immigrants further, with specific reference to the Scottish context.

Immigration and Vulnerability

Rising Immigration, Changing Perceptions

Since the start of the Millennium there has been a marked increase in immigration to Scotland from outside the UK. This is largely due to the implementation of policies that facilitated the free movement of people, such as the *Immigration and Asylum Act* (UK Government 1999), which led to thousands of asylum seekers being relocated to the West of Scotland, and the expansion of the EU in 2004 (Europa 2017), which allowed nationals from newly-acceded states such as Poland to live and work in the UK. These and other migration policies demonstrate the New

Labour government of the time's commitment to "managed migration", as opposed to the "zero migration" objective of previous governments (for more on New Labour's migration policies see Somerville 2007a). They are also indicative of New Labour's adoption of the neoliberal approach to transnational migration discussed in the previous section, which facilitates free movement of people chiefly as required by the needs of global industry, and which I discuss further in Chapter 4.

The impact of these policies on net migration into Scotland was an increase from zero in 2000 to an annual average of over 20,000 between 2000 and 2016 (National Records of Scotland 2016a). While Scotland has always experienced some degree of immigration from elsewhere in the UK, as well as significant inward migration from other Commonwealth nations since the 1960s, it is notable that the majority of immigrants to Scotland over the past 17 years or so have been from non-English speaking countries. This means of course that many of these immigrants - in addition to the many other challenges presented to them on arriving in an unfamiliar country - have also had to deal with the difficulty of functioning in an environment where everything is conducted in an unfamiliar language.

In the last few years, immigration has become an increasingly divisive issue in the UK. Data collected in August 2016 showed that immigration was regarded as the single most important political issue, with more than three quarters of the UK population feeling that immigration needs to be reduced (Migration Observatory 2016a). In political terms, the rise of the anti-immigration United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and the result of the referendum in June 2016 that saw 52% of the UK population voting to leave the EU both stem in no small measure from concerns over the number of immigrants entering the UK and the perceived impact it is having on society (Goodwin and Heath 2016). While Scotland voted by 62% to 38% to remain in the EU, and while its ageing and declining indigenous population (National Records of Scotland 2016b) implies a manifest need for continuing inward migration, a 2014 survey showed that 58% of the population still supported a reduction in immigration (Migration Observatory 2014).

Of course, public perceptions of immigration and concerns about its negative impact on society are one thing, but they are not necessarily borne out by evidence. It is therefore important to analyse the real impact that immigration is having on society in order to problematise the issue effectively. Despite widely held concerns about the negative impact of immigration in the UK, it is also well documented that immigrants make a net positive contribution to the UK economy and are also less likely than British nationals to receive state benefits (Legrain 2015). Yet, negative perceptions of immigrants continue to dominate the discourse in UK-wide politics.

The Social Impact of Immigration

When it comes to analysing the social impact of immigration, though, we must consider the fact that people's *perceptions* can have wide-reaching consequences, whether they are well-founded or not. A government review led by Dame Louise Casey (Casey 2016) identified a number of problems resulting from increased immigration and its impact on society. This review found that '...people from minority groups have become both more dispersed and in some cases more concentrated and segregated.' (Casey 2016: 10). The report's main concern is the issue of segregation and the social problems that this can cause. For example, Casey cites '...the likelihood of children growing up without meeting or better understanding people from different backgrounds' (Casey 2016: 11), and the fact that the concentration of different ethnic groups can

...limit labour market opportunities...reduce opportunities for social ties between minority and white British communities...[and] lead to lower identification with Britain and lower levels of trust between ethnic groups. (Casey 2016: 11).

The Casey Review raises further concerns about social and economic exclusion by pointing out that 41-51% of families from ethnic minority backgrounds are on low incomes, as opposed to only 19% of white families. Unemployment rates among people of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are three times higher than for white British people, and the rates are even higher for women; 38.5% of women from ethnic

minorities are economically inactive, and among women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds the figure is as high as 57.2%. (Casey 2016: 13-14).

The above statistics highlight differences *within* the UK's immigrant population, indicating that we cannot regard immigrants as a single group, nor can we look for a single approach to addressing the challenges they both face and present. Within immigrant communities there are sub-groups who experience varying degrees of disadvantage, exclusion and marginalisation. The level of disadvantage and the risk of exclusion is likely to be higher among immigrants in the UK than for "indigenous" communities, but it is likely to be even higher for immigrants from non-white ethnic backgrounds, and higher still for female immigrants who belong to certain ethnic, cultural or religious groups. This combination of different factors that lead to different levels of social exclusion can be conceptualised and analysed through the framework of *Intersectionality*, a concept that Hill Collins and Bilge define as follows:

When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves. (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016: 2).

When considering intersectionality and how a combination of circumstances can conspire to place certain people in vulnerable or marginalised situations, it is also important to consider *language*, and the disadvantages placed on residents in the UK whose first language is not English. It is reasonable to suppose that lack of competence in English is another factor that can potentially exclude many recently arrived immigrants from full participation in their new environment. This view is supported by the findings of a study by Millbourne, which focused on 'non-English speaking and other culturally excluded groups' (Millbourne 2002: 287) and provides examples of how multiple factors – including a lack of English – combine to create barriers to education, care and other services, leading to '...continued, and sometimes worsening, marginalisation of

those who have failed to gain access to intended benefits of policy changes.’ (Millbourne 2002: 288).

We can conclude then that a lack of English is likely to disadvantage migrants in predominantly English-speaking countries like Scotland by increasing the risk of marginalisation or exclusion. A logical assumption from this, then, is that learning English reduces these risks. In Chapter 2 I will elaborate further on the role of English, and by extension ESOL, in promoting the rights of immigrants.

In this section I have provided some background on the rise of immigration to the UK since the start of the Millennium, in keeping with a global trend of increasing transnational migration. While individuals are motivated to migrate by various “push” and “pull” factors (Guo 2005), their resulting mobility undeniably facilitates the neoliberal model of globalisation. The resulting increase in social diversity has in some instances created divisions and become a major cause for concern among indigenous communities in various parts of the UK. The Casey Review has highlighted examples of segregation and exclusion, and also demonstrates how multiple factors, including language, can combine, or intersect, to place some groups of immigrants in particularly vulnerable positions. In the next section I move on to explore different conceptualisations of what constitutes the successful settlement of immigrants.

Conceptualising Integration

“Integration”: A Problematic Concept

To say that it is beneficial for people living in a predominantly English-speaking country to be able to speak English is perhaps stating the obvious. However, to fully understand the claim that learning English facilitates the settlement of immigrants in their new society, we need firstly to establish what effective settlement means. A frequently used term within this context is *integration* and, while successful integration is widely regarded as a positive outcome, a range of interpretations exists with regard to its meaning term and what the outcome of successful integration entails. In this section I outline three conceptualisations of

what is broadly termed “integration”, and the models for the settlement of immigrants that they offer.

There appears to be a consensus among recent UK policymakers on what is *not* integration. The dangers posed by a segregated society in the Casey Review echo similar concerns in previous reports related to social policy. A review on community cohesion by Professor Ted Cantle expressed concerns that multiculturalism, as a result of globalisation, had led to a fragmentation of society, with different communities living what Cantle described as ‘...a series of parallel lives.’ (Cantle 2001: 9). This led to the observation that:

...the ignorance about each others’ communities can easily grow into fear; especially where this is exploited by extremist groups determined to undermine community harmony and foster divisions. (Cantle 2001: 9).

A later report by Sir Bernard Crick (Home Office 2003) also expressed concerns that social divisions were largely due to diverse groups living according to different values, and that solutions lay in developing ways to bring communities together more. The Casey Review, like these previous government reports, highlights the importance of finding ways ‘...to promote opportunity and integration.’ (Casey 2016: 16). However, the review does not give a clear definition of what integration actually is, leading to some ambiguity as to what any pro-integration policies, projects or agendas should aim to achieve.

Assimilation

The lack of a clear definition of integration stems largely from differing views on where the responsibility lies, or should lie, for ensuring or facilitating the settlement of immigrants. For many, the preferred model for successful settlement is one of assimilation. Within this model, the expectation is that people coming into a country will adapt their behaviour and ideas to become more like the host society. In describing the assimilation of minorities in the USA, Gordon (1964) identified seven sub-processes of assimilation, dominated by two key processes described by Sommerlad and Berry (1970) as follows:

Behavioural assimilation or acculturation refers to the extent to which the minority group has absorbed the cultural patterns of the host society ...*Structural* assimilation, on the other hand, means the process by which the individuals in the minority group have become distributed in the social and occupational structure and have entered the political, social and cultural organizations of the dominant society (Sommerlad and Berry 1970: 23).

It is clear then that Gordon's model of assimilation places the onus squarely on immigrants to adapt and conform to the existing norms of the host society. There is no requirement for the host society to modify its cultural values or alter its occupational or social structure in order to make it easier for minorities to "fit in". This makes the assimilation process far easier for people whose existing values and norms are already similar to those of the society they are becoming a part of, since they have less cultural distance to travel in order to adapt. Conversely, an assimilation model of immigration automatically disadvantages immigrants whose backgrounds are very different from that of the host society. Indeed, the more differences there are between an immigrant's lifestyle, culture, religion, first language and educational background, and those of the host society, the harder it is for that immigrant to assimilate (Cheong et al 2007).

In the case of Scotland, an assimilation model is likely to disadvantage those immigrants who are already in vulnerable positions, namely refugees and asylum seekers, most of whom come from non-European countries with marked socio-cultural differences from Scottish norms. This point was made in a study by Bauer et al in their analysis of immigration policy and its impact on economic assimilation:

The more similar two countries are with regard to language and the stage of economic development, the lower will be the initial earnings disadvantage of the immigrants compared to natives....Hence, asylum seekers and refugees are likely to exhibit greater earnings disadvantages than economic migrants when compared to natives. (Bauer et al 2000: 10).

Using an assimilation model of settlement, therefore, and simply expecting immigrants to adapt and conform, is likely to disadvantage further those immigrants who are already disadvantaged and vulnerable, having been forced to leave their home country in the first place (Scottish Government 2017a: 9). The sense of “otherness” that asylum seekers and refugees are likely to experience in the UK is further compounded by instances of discrimination which, as reported in a study by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008), can affect the ability of immigrants from non-white and/or non-Christian backgrounds to find work or gain access to social services, including housing. Their resulting marginalisation appears to be borne out further by the evidence presented in the Casey Review, which identifies communities that are non-white, non-Christian and non-English speaking as being particularly likely to be segregated from “mainstream” society (Casey 2016: 10-11). In describing her study of victims of social and cultural exclusion in London, Millbourne is critical of recent UK integration policies precisely because they appear, albeit unintentionally, to promote an assimilation model:

Such an approach...appears to deny the diversity of responses and potential strengths that many communities could bring to address poor social conditions. What appears on offer instead is the chance for a group to conform to the norms and values of a society from which they currently experience marginalisation. (Millbourne 2002: 301).

We can conclude then that an assimilation model does *not* adequately address the needs of those immigrants who are at most risk. On the contrary, it increases the possibility of them becoming marginalised, excluded or disenfranchised. It could be argued that certain forms of assimilation, such as economic assimilation, are desirable because they place immigrants on an equal footing with members of the host society. However, when we consider that an assimilation model requires migrants to conform to the needs of the host society, this model – somewhat paradoxically – is unlikely to lead to economic assimilation without migrants going through considerable adjustments. The varying levels of adjustment required that result from the heterogeneity of immigrants is highlighted by Guo (2010b), who criticises the UK’s approach to lifelong

learning because '...it wrongly assumes that all migrants are the same and require similar modes of services' (Guo 2010b: 437). He claims that the use of lifelong learning to facilitate integration promotes instead '...the assimilation of migrants into British norms and cultures' (Guo 2010b: 445), and concludes as follows:

This approach treats cultural diversity as deficit and deficiency, blames the victims for their marginalisation and exclusion and leaves systemic issues intact.

Furthermore, the idea of a culturally neutral state and universal citizenship negates cultural differences and perpetuates oppression and inequality (ibid).

If we return then to the concepts of empowerment and emancipation, we can conclude from the above discussion that an assimilation model of integration is *disempowering* for immigrants, since it creates a deficit model in which their own values, beliefs and language are seen as inferior to the "norm" and in need of change. The requirement to adapt their behaviour in order to conform to the expectations of the host society places immigrants at a disadvantage compared to those born and brought up in the country. An assimilation model, therefore, is neither empowering nor emancipatory, but rather an authoritarian imposition of indoctrination. Moreover, and crucially, the greater the differences between the norms and values of the host culture and those of the migrant, the greater the level of disempowerment that the migrant will experience.

Integration

While the terms "assimilation" and "integration" are understood by some to be synonymous, clear distinctions have been made between the two terms in existing literature. Sommerlad and Berry distinguished integration from assimilation by defining it in this way:

...an integrated group is accorded the right to retain its differences as long as they do not cause disruption or disunity in the general society (Sommerlad and Berry 1970: 24).

A more recent conceptualisation of integration exists in the framework presented by Ager and Strang (2008). This framework identifies the ambiguities that still exist regarding the meaning of integration, and

attempts to offer '...a coherent structure for considering, from a normative perspective, what constitutes the key components of integration.' (Ager and Strang 2008: 167). Ager and Strang are critical of assimilation - and assimilationist policy - which they define as '...the expectation that refugees [and, presumably, other immigrants] will adapt to become indistinguishable from the host community.' (Ager and Strang 2008: 174-175). They point out that:

...this policy has become less and less politically acceptable in liberal democracies as the right to maintain cultural and religious identity has been increasingly established (Ager and Strang 2008: 175).

Their preferred model does not focus on immigrants becoming more like the host society, prioritising instead their ability to:

...achieve their full rights as members of British society, to contribute to the community, and become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents (Home Office 2005, quoted in Ager and Strang 2008: 175).

Following this definition, we can see that integration need not necessarily require immigrants to share the same norms and values as the host society, as long as they are able to engage in the civic duties that go along with residency in the UK.

In developing their conceptual framework for integration, Ager and Strang draw heavily on Social Capital Theory (Putnam 2000) and identify ways in which building social connections can facilitate immigrants' capacities to function effectively in society. They refer to Putnam's (1993) and Woolcock's (1998) previous work to identify *bonding social capital* as a means of developing contact between other immigrants of the same nationality or cultural background, *bridging social capital* to describe the building of relationships with members of the host community, and *linking social capital* to describe connections made between immigrants and the 'structures of the state' (Ager and Strang 2008: 181). Use of this terminology allows us to analyse how policies, attitudes and actions impact on immigrants' development as members of their new society.

By valuing all three forms of social capital for facilitating successful integration, Ager and Strang refute the assimilationist argument that immigrants must reject their own culture in order to become part of a new one:

Processes supporting the maintenance of ethnic identity (especially 'social bonds') in no way logically limit wider integration into society (through the establishment of 'social bridges' and other means). (Ager and Strang 2008: 186).

Ager and Strang's integration model therefore encourages immigrants to build connections and relationships with members of the host community and to engage with institutions where power is located, while at the same time retaining existing values by forming bonds with members of their own background. This naturally raises questions about how easy it is for immigrants to do any of these things, what support they might need to integrate effectively, and where that support might come from.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) is useful here in conceptualising the extent of disadvantage that immigrants find themselves in on arrival in a new country. *Habitus* refers to the norms and values that people hold and the impact that they have on their ability to engage meaningfully with their surroundings. The further removed a person's *habitus* is from their immediate environment, the more difficult it is for that person to function effectively. This theory supports the rejection of assimilation, and also highlights just how disempowered immigrants are compared to indigenous residents. Furthermore, the importance of *habitus* further strengthens the case for a model that supports the development of all three forms of social capital.

The use of social capital theory to conceptualise integration, then, is likely to be far more empowering than an assimilationist conceptualisation in that it allows immigrants to retain existing values while at the same time supporting their ability to build relationships with the communities and institutions of the host country. The expectation remains that immigrants will learn about existing structures, systems and institutions in the host country with the purpose of becoming able to navigate them successfully, but there is also an expectation that the host society will take steps to

support this process. Such an approach is congruent with a liberal ideology, which seeks to empower individuals in order that they become more capable of functioning successfully in society.

However, within this framework of integration there is no actual requirement for existing power structures to be transformed or re-balanced. Promoting the development of social capital among immigrants may be empowering, but it cannot be regarded as emancipatory in the Marxist sense. It is also important to point out here that using social capital theory as a means of analysing immigration is itself potentially problematic. In their critical review of social capital and immigration, Cheong et al (2007) point out that ‘...the concept of social capital is dynamic and itself value-based.’ (Cheong et al 2007: 25). They give the example of bonding social capital and how it was previously regarded positively as a means of allowing immigrants to retain their identities and build a multicultural society, but they recognise that perceptions have changed, owing to raised concerns about segregation and threats to national security. This same concern is echoed in the Casey Review:

The prevalence and tolerance of regressive and harmful practices has been exploited by extremists, both ‘Islamists’ and those on the far right, who highlight these differences and use them to further their shared narrative of hate and division. (Casey 2016: 15).

If social capital theory is intrinsically value-based and consequently open to subjective interpretation, it becomes problematic to use it to address the ambiguities that exist in the concept of integration, since different types of social capital can still be regarded as either positive or negative. These ambiguities can then be exploited by those in power to ensure existing hegemonies remain; immigrants may be allowed to retain certain values as long as they are the “right kind” of values – values that support, rather than challenge, the status quo.

Still, the above analysis of integration implies that the existing values of the host society are regarded as normative. While Ager and Strang’s conceptual framework, which eschews assimilation, seeks nonetheless to develop a cohesive society, immigrants are still expected to conform and

adapt in order to be successful, albeit with some support and encouragement from indigenous residents and institutions. I am therefore inclined to share the concerns expressed by Cheong et al in 2007:

...policy initiatives seem to be based on the belief that community cohesion can be built by imposing a 'majority' agenda on the 'minority' communities. Yet this agenda fails to address the realities of an increasingly multicultural society that needs to develop forms of identity and belonging that respect both individual rights and the identities of particular groups and communities. (Cheong et al 2007: 42).

In order for migrants to have their rights and identities protected and respected, then, it may be useful to look for an alternative model for their settlement.

Inclusion

I have applied existing literature to establish that immigrants, to varying extents, are likely to find themselves in vulnerable positions on arriving in Scotland, and are consequently at risk of marginalisation. This risk is particularly acute for immigrants whose language, religion and ethnicity are different from the majority of the population, implying a need for action that leads towards the emancipation of such immigrants. From a liberal perspective, the development of social capital and the empowering impact this has on the capacity of immigrants to function effectively within society could be seen as a sufficient source of emancipation for these vulnerable groups. However, developing social capital does *not* address the existing social inequalities that marginalise these immigrants in the first place. In order for the emancipation of immigrants to occur on a societal level, steps need to be taken to remove these inequalities. This requires a model that allows immigrants to contribute to the shaping and development of a more equal and just society - one that values and incorporates their views and interests.

With this in mind, it may be useful to speak less of integration and more of *inclusion*. Inclusion is broadly defined by Miller and Katz (2002) thus:

... a sense of belonging: feeling respected, valued for who you are; feeling a level of supportive energy and commitment from others so that you can do your best. (Miller and Katz 2002: 147).

This definition places a considerable emphasis on the majority group taking action to allow minorities to feel that they are involved and able to participate as equals. The term *inclusion* is often used in the context of education, particularly regarding the inclusion of learners with special educational needs (e.g. Ryndak et al 2000, Koster et al 2009). Within this context, Koster et al describe inclusion as '...an education system that meets the needs of a wide diversity of pupils'. (Koster et al 2009: 135). This definition implies that for education to become more inclusive it is the system that must change in order to accommodate the pupils.

In social policy, the phrase "social inclusion" is frequently used to refer to action that seeks to address the problem of "social *exclusion*". Levitas et al define social exclusion in this way:

[Social exclusion] involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole (Levitas et al 2007: 9).

As an organising principle for social policy, social inclusion relates to ways in which systems and structures can be changed in order to accommodate the needs of diverse groups, rather than prioritising the needs of the majority, to ensure that minorities do not experience the types of exclusion described above.

It is interesting, then, that the word "inclusion" is rarely used with regard to immigrants. Instead, policy documents, government reports and academic literature tend to speak of the integration, rather than the inclusion, of immigrants into UK society. This implies that, while attempts are made to respect the basic human rights of immigrants and to involve them in society, existing structures, systems, norms and values need not necessarily change in order to accommodate them. There is still an

expectation that immigrants will somehow live their lives within existing structures.

I wish to suggest, then, that it may be worth considering an approach to immigration that fully supports inclusion, rather than the current, liberal model of integration. The value-laden nature of social capital theory identified by Cheong et al (2007) means that the perceptions, values and norms of the host society continue to dominate within an integration model, and the needs of minorities will only be accommodated if they correspond to the existing values or aspirations of the host society. An inclusion model, on the other hand, would require the host society and its members to take steps that facilitate the active involvement of immigrants in all aspects of society, so that they feel able to make a contribution to their new environment, and that their contribution can positively influence the host society in many ways: through cultural enrichment, the promotion of tolerance and the minimising of inequalities.

Such a goal, which recognises the disadvantaged positions that minorities often find themselves in and seeks to redress this inequality through the promotion of diversity, is far more congruent with the concept of *emancipation* as a social project than current approaches to integration, which still seem to entail conformity and a move towards "sameness". An inclusive approach to immigration entails the host society adapting in order to accommodate the needs, interests and concerns of immigrants. The adaptive process required to create an inclusive society and the transformative agenda underlying Marxist conceptualisations of emancipation can be seen as working towards a common goal: the development of a society that reduces inequalities and allows minority groups to participate actively and democratically in the development of a more equitable society.

Chapter 2: Education and Emancipation

Liberal Education in a Neoliberal World

It is understandable that empowerment and emancipation should feature heavily in educational discourse, as they are concerned with individual and social transformation; education can play, and has played, a significant role in such transformative projects. Recently, however, many academics have expressed concern that education appears to be geared towards serving the interests of the globalised economy, at the expense of the interests of individuals or the wellbeing of society. Nussbaum criticizes the impact of neoliberalism on education precisely for focusing entirely on skills that meet economic priorities, ‘...heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive’ (Nussbaum 2010: 2).

Employers are, of course, legitimate stakeholders in the education system as beneficiaries (or otherwise) of the learning gained by their future or current employees. However, Nussbaum’s concerns relate less to the inclusion of content that pertains to economic development, and more to the exclusion of other knowledge and skills such as ‘...critical thinking, world citizenship, and imaginative understanding.’ (Nussbaum 2006: 385).

The de-prioritisation of knowledge and skills that aim to benefit society is symptomatic of neoliberalism which, as mentioned in Chapter 1, seeks to ‘...create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur’ (Olssen et al 2004: 136). Individuals can therefore become more competitive by increasing their knowledge and skills in areas that contribute to economic development, as this makes them more employable. Within this construct, individuals are valued for their economic potential, as conceptualised through *human capital theory*, which ‘...stresses the value of peoples’ learning capacities as a factor of economic productivity’ (Livingstone 2012: 85). Conceptualising people and education in this way inevitably leads to the development of a highly instrumental curriculum, which prioritises knowledge that has material or economic value above everything else.

This preoccupation with the economic returns of education may seem on the surface to benefit individuals, as it focuses on their capacities to succeed in the jobs market. However, many of the assumptions upon which human capital theory and the knowledge economy are based, and subsequent attempts to re-define these theories, are flawed, as Livingstone (2012) points out:

...efforts to repair human capital theory remain in jeopardy because of their failure to account for the growing general gap between peoples' increasing learning efforts and knowledge bases on the one hand, and the diminishing numbers of commensurate jobs to apply their increasing knowledge investments on the other...Appeals to an immanent knowledge economy have limited credibility for those living in the education–jobs gap. The 'learning for earning' thesis is increasingly reduced to a strategy for relative individual advantage and decreasing marginal returns (Livingstone 2012: 108).

Furthermore, valuing competition and competitiveness necessarily means that there will be losers as well as winners, promoting a society that *entails* inequality. From a societal point of view, then, neoliberal conceptualisations of education and learning would be highly unlikely to promote justice or equity, *even if* their underlying assumptions were valid. With this in mind, it seems logical to conclude that the main beneficiaries of neoliberal approaches to education are employers, for whom a more knowledgeable, more agile workforce is created, which can be deployed according to corporate needs. By prioritising these needs over everything else, education based on human capital theory entails a necessarily prescriptive and narrow curriculum that is ultimately disempowering for individual learners, as it limits the breadth of study options and does not propose the development of society other than in ways that benefit those who already hold power. When searching for an approach to education that seeks to emancipate learners and promote the rights of disadvantaged minorities, then, we can conclude that neoliberal models are not compatible with any such project.

The neoliberal approach to education conflicts markedly with educational models based on classical liberal philosophy which, according to Furedi:

[S]hould help to liberate individuals from the immediacy of everyday experience and reorient them towards a richer range of intellectual and cultural experiences that help to make life worth living. (Furedi 2014).

Key values inherent in liberal education are breadth, autonomy and non-instrumental purpose. Breadth is important in liberal education as it aims to 'expand people's capabilities' (Robeyns 2006: 69) and must therefore expose learners to a wide range of knowledge and skills. Autonomy is an important goal within liberal education as it seeks to liberate individuals by developing their ability to be capable of thinking and acting independently (e.g. Wringe 1997). Instrumental purpose, by contrast, is rejected by most liberal educationalists as it devalues the act of 'knowing something simply for the sake of its knowledge'. (Robeyns 2006: 70). Instead of requiring learners to demonstrate learning by unquestioningly reproducing facts within a singular and accepted ideology, a liberal approach to education seeks to retain individual freedoms, allowing people to flourish according to their own values.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, liberal philosophy argues that individuals can gain freedom through the development of rational autonomy and a capacity to think independently. Liberal education, then, seeks to emancipate on an individual level by providing each learner with the space and the capacities to think freely and autonomously. This empowers the individual and, according to Simon, creates a capacity for critical thinking that leads to '...the identification of oppressive and unjust relations within which there is an unwarranted limitation placed on human action, feeling and thought' (Simon 1987: 374, quoted in Fielding 1997: 181). However, the effectiveness of individual rational autonomy in education as a means of achieving emancipation has been criticised for some time. I will now explore an alternative, more radical approach to education, which seeks to address the emancipatory limitations of liberalism.

Marxist Influences on Education

Freire and Critical Pedagogy

In viewing education from a liberal perspective, Fielding describes the emancipatory properties of empowerment as follows:

The point of the struggle is to realise a view of social justice and the development of the democratic way of life...Within the semantic enclosure of empowerment lie social and political ramparts which are part of the geography of its meaning. The context of individual growth cannot be separated from the kind of flourishing that is thought worthwhile (Fielding 1997: 181).

The expectation, then, is that empowerment on an individual level will naturally lead to a broader emancipation of society. However, Fielding himself goes on to point out the limitations of this model, firstly because it '...sees itself as concerned with an individual's capacity to manipulate the system to their own ends' (Fielding 1997: 182), and secondly because

...such a view espouses a perhaps benevolent, but nonetheless unacceptably limiting dependency that is too often prone to deference, none of which is in any genuine sense transformational, inspiring or democratically fitting (Fielding 1997: 188).

Ultimately, Fielding concludes, 'Empowerment has run its course; it is time to move on' (ibid).

Like liberalism, the Marxist idea of emancipation as a social phenomenon has had its own influence on education. It was key to the development of a framework for education proposed by Paulo Freire in his seminal book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1996). First published in 1970, this work drew heavily on Freire's own experiences as a teacher in post-colonial South America. Like Marx, Freire believed that the poor are kept in a state of oppression by hegemonic forces. He was also concerned about the ways in which educational systems are complicit in maintaining these hegemonies by following a 'banking concept' of education (Freire 1996: 52-67) in which knowledge is imparted by teachers to students, who are then expected to store this knowledge and demonstrate their learning by reproducing it at a later date. Freire argued that this model is

limited because '...the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing'. (Freire 1996: 53). Consequently, there is no room for students to bring their own knowledge, experience or opinions to the learning environment; the whole learning process is predicated on the acceptance that things are as they are, and it is not for the students to implement change. Rather, the students are merely passive recipients of information, while '...the educator's role is to regulate the way the world "enters into" the students.' (Freire 1996: 57). The banking concept can therefore be seen as a form of indoctrination, as the expectation is for learners to accept information as it is provided to them, without criticism, and to conform to the ideologies inherent within the curriculum.

As an alternative to the banking concept of education, Freire proposed a redefinition of teacher-student roles in what he called the 'problem-posing concept'. In describing this framework, Freire states:

The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. (Freire 1996: 61).

For learning to be truly transformative and geared towards emancipating the oppressed, then, all participants in the process – teachers and students – must regard themselves as both educators and learners. The result is an approach that encourages critical thinking and allows students (and teachers!) to use their learning to effect social change.

Freire's ideas evolved into what is now known as *critical pedagogy* – described by Giroux as being:

...rooted in a project that is tied to the creation of an informed, critical citizenry capable of participating and governing in a democratic society. (Giroux 2011: 7)

There is much about liberal education that is congruent with critical pedagogy; the development of autonomous rational thought, the use of humanist principles to identify and meet the needs of the individual, the development of a learning programme that seeks to improve learners' abilities to understand and therefore flourish independently. However, the different perceptions of emancipation that each philosophy holds have a

significant impact on educational practice. Because there is no requirement within liberal education for society to be transformed, existing inequalities are perpetuated. Indeed, Freire argues that a pedagogy that allows learners to function within the existing power structures is in itself a form of oppression, '...for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated.' (Freire 1996: 55).

In his article distinguishing empowerment from emancipation, Inglis (1997) develops further the potentially damaging impact of liberal education on the redistribution of power, claiming that '...a process which supposedly leads to increased or devolved power leads, in effect, to a more subtle form of incorporation.' (Inglis 1997: 4). This argument is supported by Foucault's description of power in its current manifestation – 'a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them' (Foucault 1980: 136, quoted in Inglis 1997: 12). Education for empowerment, then, is in fact a way of making individuals work *for* the system, rather than developing the skills to change it.

Education that aims towards individual transformation clearly has limitations in its own right. In arguing against individualism in education, Cunningham states:

I think of the individual as "biography". By this I mean that the very notion of "individual" is socially constructed, that is, an "individual" is contextualized in the history, culture, and the social fabric of the society in which she lives. Accordingly, the social dimension of transformational learning is at the intersection of personal biography with the societal structure (Cunningham 1998: 15-26).

For Cunningham, neglecting to focus on the social context of the learner makes it impossible to identify, never mind analyse and challenge, '...economic forces and state hegemonic power relationships' (Cunningham 1998: 25).

These limitations of individualism, which hobble liberal education and also undermine other pedagogical theories such as transformative learning (Mezirow 1997), need not, however, be rejected completely. As Inglis puts it, '...there is a clear role for the educator in facilitating a progression

from individual transformative learning to emancipatory education.’ (Inglis 1997: 14). In fact, Freire himself identified the *conscientization* of individuals – the development of a critical consciousness that allows learners to identify their own position within a broader socio-political context – as being key to allowing them to engage in democratic processes (Freire 2013). From a critical perspective, then, individualised transformative learning can be valued, but as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

Critiquing Critical Pedagogy

In arguing a case for education to follow a socially transformative agenda, it is of course necessary to explore the criticisms of such an approach. Ellsworth (1989) has highlighted the abstract nature of the literature supporting critical pedagogy, which makes it difficult to implement in practice, and points out the problems of power relations between teacher and student, claiming that critical pedagogy does not effectively address these relations:

[C]ritical pedagogues have acknowledged the socially constructed and legitimated authority that teachers/professors hold over students. Yet theorists of critical pedagogy have failed to launch any meaningful analysis of or program for reformulating the institutionalized power imbalances between themselves and their students, or of the essentially paternalistic project of education itself. (Ellsworth 1989: 306).

Biesta (2010), drawing on the work of Jacques Rancière, also points out that the logic of emancipatory education is problematic, as it assumes that the educator is already emancipated:

...emancipation can only be brought about “from the outside”, that is, from a position that is uncontaminated by the workings of power....hence it becomes the task of critical educators to make visible what is hidden for those who are the “object” of their emancipatory endeavours. (Biesta 2010: 40).

This would suggest that critical pedagogy instils a dependency on the educator, since ‘...the emancipator is the one who knows better’ (Biesta

2010: 45), and that '[e]ducation so conceived is grounded in a fundamental inequality between the one who educated and the one who received – and needs – education (Biesta 2010: 53). Logically, this premise could in fact lead to an indoctrinatory agenda, in which the values held by the teacher – however emancipatory she may see them to be – are imposed on the learners.

Biesta suggests that emancipation might be better achieved by focusing on equality as a starting point rather than a desired outcome, promoting Rancière's notion of '...equality of intelligences as the common prerequisite of both intelligibility and community' (Rancière 1995: 51, quoted in Biesta 2010: 53). Freire's problem-posing approach, of course, stresses the importance of multidirectional learning and the fact that learners' realities can create learning opportunities for teachers, but the deficit model inherent in the assumption that the teacher is already emancipated and the students are not, coupled with the reality that the teacher is still regarded as the "knower" of the subject being taught, means that the emancipatory intentions of critical pedagogy remain problematic.

A further criticism of critical pedagogy relates to the seemingly singular view of oppression held by Freire and subsequent critical pedagogues, which fails to acknowledge intersections and multiple manifestations of oppression for different people (Ellsworth 1989: 304). This argument was supported by Weiler who, writing from a postmodern feminist perspective, claimed that critical pedagogy does not adequately address

...contradictions between conflicting oppressed groups or the ways in which a single individual can experience oppression in one sphere while being privileged or oppressive in another. (Weiler 1991: 450).

These criticisms must be borne in mind when attempting to adopt a teaching approach that emancipates on a social as well as an individual level. They are certainly relevant in the context of the ESOL classroom, which may contain very diverse groups of learners in terms of race, religion, culture, educational background, age, socio-economic status, gender, sexuality and (dis)ability. For example, it is very easy to see a male Muslim asylum seeker living in Scotland as being a member of an

oppressed group, but it could also be argued, from the perspective of gender equality, that the same person belongs to a group that perpetuates the oppression of women. The above criticisms remind us that in seeking to emancipate our learners we must take care not to accept an over-simplified version of critical pedagogy, and must remain mindful of issues related to power and intersectionality in the classroom.

If emancipation requires societal change, and if that change is to address inequalities and social injustice faced by a wide range of learners, following a single path or focusing on a single aspect of injustice is unlikely to succeed. Instead, education must involve encouraging learners to take a more holistic view of society, engaging with a range of perspectives and working imaginatively and collaboratively towards achieving solutions. The diverse learner backgrounds and perspectives that tend to exist in the ESOL classroom could be regarded as a particularly conducive context for this approach.

ESOL as a Potential Source of Emancipation

English Language Teaching: Emancipatory Practice or Neoliberal Tool?

Having explored the potential for education to be a source of emancipation, and having concluded that some kind of *mindful* critical pedagogy may be the best way of achieving this, I now turn to the specific area of teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. The possibility of critical pedagogy entering into language teaching practice has been around for some time. In 1990, Pennycook criticised the dominance of what he called ‘...a common instrumentalist and positivist orientation towards language and teaching’, (Pennycook 1990: 304), bemoaning the lack of concern about the social impact of language teaching:

What is sorely lacking here is a view of the social, cultural, political and historical context and implications of language teaching. Language is reduced to a system for transmitting messages rather than an ideational, signifying system that plays a central role in how we understand ourselves and the world. The social context of teaching and theorizing is not acknowledged. (Pennycook 1990: 304).

Other than occasional studies (for example Akbari 2008 and Joseph Jeyaraj and Harland 2014), critical pedagogy has had little influence on language teaching practice, largely due to resistance from, and the self-interest of, certain powerful forces. The spread of English and its emergence as a dominant global language (Crystal 1997) have raised issues surrounding the role of English Language Teaching (ELT²) in allegedly promoting linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992), with English being used by members of the 'inner circle' of native English-speaking nations (Kachru 1985) as a means of maintaining dominance and control over non-English speaking nations. This imperialistic perception has been compounded by the development of ELT as a global industry, generating huge profits for global publishing companies (Gray 2002, Copley 2018) and global franchises of privately owned, UK- or US-based language schools.

Allegations against English-speaking countries of linguistic imperialism have diminished with the acknowledgement that English is no longer the "property" of any specific nations, and is more widely accepted as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2005), with traditionally non-English speaking countries gaining "ownership" over the language rather than their varieties of English being regarded as '...indicators of linguistic decay' (Kachru 1988: 3). However, Copley identifies '...the consolidation of English as the lingua franca of corporate-driven globalization' (Copley 2018: 54), and its use to impose the will of global corporations rather than that of specific nations. Interestingly, studies by Copley (2018) and by Gray and Block (2014) both identify an increasingly neoliberal theme within the content of ELT materials, leading to the '...erasure of a very limited working class perspective on life' (Gray and Block 2014: 65). Any representation of working class characters is limited to those who, according to Copley (2018)

² While ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) is the most widely used acronym to describe the teaching of English to long-term residents in English-speaking countries, the teaching of English in non-English speaking countries is commonly referred to as English as a Foreign Language (EFL). ELT tends to be used more generally, to describe both ESOL and EFL.

...have been neoliberalized in that they are not connected to one another through any class location but rather depicted as individual actors within an impersonal free market (Copley 2018: 48-49).

These studies strongly suggest that ELT is being used to promote neoliberal ideology at the expense of any notions of collectivism or class-consciousness.

English and Immigrants in Scotland

Certainly, when we locate the practice of English language teaching in Scotland, where English is by far the most widely-spoken language, and consider the practice of teaching it to minority groups, it may be difficult to see how this can be a source of emancipation. Surely, by imposing the dominant language on these groups, ESOL can only be a form of indoctrination or coercion, leading inevitably to an assimilationist model of immigration. It would seem more logical for an inclusive ethic to allow people to use their own languages and promote multilingualism through this.

However, in order to create an inclusive society that genuinely values, supports and promotes minority languages and cultures, it is important to acknowledge where we currently are with regard to language use in Scotland. Around 6% of the Scottish population uses a language other than English or Scots³ in the home (Scotland's Census 2011), and the diversity of these other languages is very broad, with 1% using Polish, 0.5% using Gaelic and the other 4.5% using a range of languages. It is therefore very difficult for speakers of other languages to have their voice heard in Scotland if their voice is not communicated in English, as any use of minority languages is unlikely to be understood by 99% of the population. Paradoxically then, minority groups are unable to promote the use of their own language unless they promote it in English, and of course this can only be done if they are able to use English.

³The question of whether Scots is a language in its own right or a dialect of English is a contentious one (Aitken 1985). The dominance of English-medium education in Scotland, however, makes it reasonable to assume that those respondents to the 2011 census who identified their first language as Scots are also able to communicate in English.

Arguments exist for the promotion of languages other than English, of course, but such arguments tend to present a case for multilingualism rather than suggesting that speakers of other languages should *not* learn English. The charity and lobbying group NATECLA, for example, promotes the teaching of English *and other community languages* (NATECLA Scotland 2017). Encouraging migrants living in Scotland to learn English, therefore, does not in any way discourage them from using their own language, and it can ultimately lead to the more effective promotion of minority languages.

The view that teaching ESOL can have far-reaching benefits for immigrant communities and, consequently, Scottish society as a whole, is supported by academic studies conducted elsewhere in the UK. A report from the National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE) in 2006 stated that:

For many, confidence in English language opens doors and helps people engage in and contribute to civil society. Lack of fluency in the language condemns many people to poverty. (NIACE 2006: 3).

In another NIACE report, Ward (2008) highlights how the development of English language

...promotes social mobility, and can help to tackle matters such as poverty, poor health and crime, support community cohesion, and democratic and cultural expansion and fight racism. (Ward 2008: 8).

Further evidence supporting ESOL and its positive impact on immigrants can be found in a study by Baynham (2006), which identified the benefits of fostering student agency in the classroom, and in another by Cooke (2006), which called on ESOL provision to focus more on helping immigrants '...to realise their full potential as users of English, members of the work force and future citizens' (Cooke 2006: 56). More recently, an interim report by an All-Party Parliamentary group on social integration recommends that the government should '...markedly increase ESOL funding as well as explore innovative policy ideas to increase the availability and take-up of English language classes' (UK Government 2016: 18). The Casey Review also recommends '...improving English

language provision through funding for community-based classes and appropriate prioritisation of adult skills budgets'. (Casey 2016: 17). However, ESOL can be taught in different ways, and different approaches to ESOL delivery can be viewed in terms of the previously discussed concepts of indoctrination, empowerment and emancipation, assimilation, integration and inclusion. I shall explore these different approaches and their impact in the next section.

ESOL: Methodology, Philosophy and Societal Impact

ESOL as a Banking Model

Until the early 1970s, most approaches to language teaching, such as *Grammar Translation* and *Audiolingualism* (Richards and Rogers 2001) were highly prescriptive, with the role of the teacher being that of the knower, maintaining tight control over what language students were exposed to and how they used it. Subsequent, "progressive" language teaching methods such as the *Silent Way* (Gattegno 1972) and *Total Physical Response* (Asher 1969), while influenced by broader humanistic principles and the communicative purpose of language (Hymes 1972), still involved the teacher directing proceedings and acting as the source of all knowledge. Such approaches to language teaching are examples of Freire's banking model, through which, as I previously described, knowledge is deposited into the brains of learners by the teacher, and students are merely expected to absorb knowledge without any form of critical engagement. Freire criticized the banking model in this way:

The capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate their credulity serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed. (Freire 1996: 54).

When it comes to language teaching, and the role that language plays in the presentation and communication of ideas, it is easy to see how a banking approach to ESOL could be used as a vehicle for indoctrination, whereby dominant ideologies can be taught under the guise of "useful language" - while language that could be used to challenge existing systems is omitted from the curriculum. In ESOL, such an approach can

manifest itself in a form of "Citizenship Education" that teaches immigrants about "British values and institutions", with the expectation that they will adopt these values uncritically. Concerns about the introduction of requirements for UK citizenship applicants, including the introduction of a test on "Life in the UK" (Home Office 2003), prompted the likes of Han et al to raise concerns about '...a move away from multiculturalism towards a policy of assimilation' (Han et al 2010: 63). More recently, the introduction of the Prevent Strategy (UK Government 2011), which aims to reduce radicalisation and the spread of terrorism, has raised further concerns that the capacity for education to engage critically with problematic concepts is being seriously undermined by '...problematizing a whole faith community and pathologising actions that are simply an expression of religious observance' (Hafez 2017). An approach to ESOL that presents dominant ideology in the UK as "correct", and superior to alternative values and beliefs that ESOL learners may hold, could be used to actively *disempower* learners, by limiting the range of language to which they are exposed and denying them opportunities to express their own ideas or values in English.

ESOL as Liberal Education

Current approaches and methods in language teaching, specifically ESOL, tend to require learners to engage rather more actively in the learning process than they would in the above-mentioned classical banking model that Freire both describes and repudiates. There is, in fact, much to be found in current ESOL practice that equates with liberal approaches to education. Most programmes in Scottish colleges use materials that are produced for a global market and which cover a wide range of topics, indicating considerable breadth of content (for examples see Oxenden et al 2009, Soars and Soars 2011 and Cunningham et al 2014). These so-called "global coursebooks" (Gray 2002) cover diverse topics like travel, sports, education, family life and the environment, allowing ESOL programmes to introduce learners to a broad range of language that is not designed to be used for any instrumental purpose other than to communicate effectively on these topics.

The promotion of learner autonomy is commonly found in literature about English Language Teaching methodology. It is a key feature of *Communicative Language Teaching*, the dominant approach in ESOL teaching practice since its inception in the 1970s (Richards and Rogers 2001:153-177). Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) prioritises the communicative purpose of language over the study of language systems, and therefore places a strong emphasis on individual expression, with the principal focus being on meaning rather than linguistic forms (Brumfit 1984). Activities are frequently designed to encourage learners to use the “target language” (the language being taught) to express their own feelings, thoughts and opinions, drawing heavily on humanist philosophies of subjectivity (for example Moskowitz 1978) to promote individual expression during lessons. Rather than merely listening to and then repeating utterances that are fed to them by a teacher, students in the CLT classroom ‘...must be involved in interpreting a meaning from what they hear and constructing what to say as a response.’ (Hedge 2000: 57). Communicative techniques such as *Guided Discovery* (Harmer 2001: 75-76) encourage autonomy by requiring learners to work out language rules and patterns by themselves, before receiving clarification from the teacher. This kind of group-based collaborative problem-solving also has parallels with transformative learning, drawing on the benefits of communicative action. Another influential approach within CLT is *Task-Based Learning* (Willis 1996, Long 2015), which encourages learners to use English to perform “real-world tasks” with the aim of ensuring that what they learn in the classroom will be directly beneficial in their everyday lives.

Autonomy is further promoted in communicative approaches to curriculum design such as the *negotiated syllabus* (Clarke 1991), which uses data collected through needs analysis to inform syllabus content. While strong forms of negotiated syllabus in ESOL programmes in the Scottish FE sector are rare, as most courses require the inclusion of pre-determined outcomes, considerable importance is still placed on meeting the needs of individual learners. The promotion of learner autonomy in this way is widely regarded as good practice, as will be revealed in Chapter 5.

A report by Education Scotland on the state of ESOL provision in Scotland's colleges described learning and teaching in this way:

[T]eaching approaches tend to be transactional and focus on equipping learners with the language to accomplish specific tasks such as making purchases and setting up appointments. However, much learning is also interactional where the focus is on making and maintaining relationships...Teaching staff facilitate this well through groupwork in class, making sure that learners mix with each other and giving them opportunities to practise their English. (Education Scotland 2014: 13)

Focusing on the transactional and social language required to promote autonomous living in Scotland demonstrates the strongly liberal approach that runs through college ESOL programmes. The Education Scotland evaluation also suggests that college ESOL providers are committed to the development of bridging social capital, through interactional learning, and linking social capital, through transactional learning. We can therefore conclude that ESOL provision in Scotland's colleges goes some way towards facilitating integration as conceptualised by Ager and Strang (2008).

One aspect of liberal education that does *not* feature so heavily in college ESOL programmes is non-instrumental purpose. Recent FE policy has strengthened the focus of the FE sector on preparing learners for employment in specific areas of industry (Scottish Government 2014a, 2014b). Such a focus implies a highly instrumental approach to education, which liberal educators would criticise for its tendency to lead towards a narrow and prescriptive curriculum. I will discuss further the impact of sector-wide policy on college ESOL programmes in Chapter 4, and in Chapter 5 I explore how ESOL practitioners interpret and respond to policy implementation.

From the above analysis we can conclude that scope exists for college ESOL programmes to achieve the key objective underpinning liberalism in education, namely the promotion of autonomous rational thought which should, ostensibly, lead to the empowerment of the individual. However, as previously argued, for ESOL to be truly emancipatory it must go beyond individual empowerment.

ESOL as Emancipatory Practice

Research studies related to the empowerment and emancipation of ESOL learners have been conducted in other English-speaking countries.

Worthman (2008) highlighted the emancipatory potential of English language provision for immigrant communities in the United States in a comparative study that situated two examples of classroom practice on a continuum from empowerment to emancipation. His study highlighted how different interpretations of learner experience can lead towards learning programmes having either an empowering or an emancipatory impact on learners. Worthman's research bears considerable relevance to this particular study, as will be seen later in this chapter.

On a more local level, ESOL as delivered in Scotland's colleges is heavily influenced by global practices, largely due to the prevalence of globally-produced materials and the fact that many ESOL lecturers received their training from courses that are geared towards an international market; TESOL qualifications for the Scottish context (Scottish Qualification Authority 2017b) only came into being in 2011. However, a considerable amount of research related to ESOL for migrants elsewhere in the UK, and its impact on materials and assessment, is also relevant to the Scottish ESOL context. Baynham (2006) examined exchanges between students and teachers in the ESOL classroom to identify '...unexpected re-workings of the distribution of knowledge...which provide opportunities for learning which must be grabbed in passing' (Baynham 2006: 25), suggesting a shift in knowledge-power in the direction of the learners, which the teacher can then use to maximise learning. Cooke (2006) interviewed ESOL learners and concluded that ESOL provision would benefit from:

...pedagogies and ways of organising learning which place the learner at the centre of the curriculum in a meaningful way. These include...Freirean-inspired participatory and problem-solving curricula (Cooke 2006: 71).

However, she was also critical of the imposition of a national ESOL curriculum in England, comparing it to similar curricula used in the USA in the 1980s (Auerbach 1986), and which she describes as '...serving the needs of the state for immigrants to be socialised into low paid positions

in which they generally complied and rarely complained.’ (Cooke 2006: 70). Rather than emancipating learners, then, Cooke warns that an over-standardised approach to ESOL can become a form of indoctrination, where learners only learn language skills as required by those in power.

There are examples of ESOL provision that explicitly cite critical pedagogy as key to their core values, such as the *Reflect ESOL* movement (Reflect Action 2009) and *Action for ESOL* (Peutrell 2015). However, neither of these projects is active in Scotland, and the extent to which critical pedagogy is, or could be, applied within ESOL programmes in colleges in Scotland is currently unclear. Indeed, I pointed out in the Introduction that published literature focusing directly on ESOL in the Scottish FE sector tends to be in the form of government policy or reports written by Education Scotland, a government-funded agency. Inevitably, such literature is likely to be biased in favour of government policy, and is certainly unlikely to promote any approaches to ESOL that could potentially undermine existing power structures. The lack of available critical analysis of current practice is a key motivation for me to conduct this study.

Conclusion: ESOL and The Emancipation Continuum

This chapter has analysed various concepts that relate to the emancipatory potential of ESOL for immigrants in Scotland. Immigrants arriving in this country face considerable challenges in terms of their ability to flourish and lead successful lives, and the extent of these challenges will vary according to the ethnicity, religion, gender, financial status, residency status and first language of these immigrants, all of which intersect in establishing their level of vulnerability.

In Chapter 1’s conceptual analysis I presented three possible models for settling immigrants – assimilation, integration and inclusion. Although I identified inclusion as a preferred model for minimising inequality and exclusion, the risk of social problems such as ghettoization and segregation, as highlighted by the Casey Review (2016), still exists within this model - immigrants may choose *not* to be included, declaring instead

a preference to be left alone to live according to their own values. Education should therefore play a key role in smoothing the process, ensuring cross-cultural understanding and promoting social justice. For many immigrants, lack of English increases vulnerability and the risk of exclusion.


ESOL provision has the potential to make a positive contribution towards social cohesion by allowing meaningful interaction to take place between communities. The extent of the contribution towards inclusion depends, of course, on the nature and focus of the interaction that is taught. We must therefore consider that ESOL programmes can be used to facilitate any one of the three models presented in Chapter 1. An approach that aims towards assimilation is one that seeks to indoctrinate immigrants by teaching them the norms of the host country and expecting them to accept and conform to dominant ideologies, very much like Freire's banking concept. Approaches to education that seek to promote "British values" or "develop citizenship skills" run the risk of becoming programmes of assimilation, indoctrination or even coercion and control, if they only follow a unidirectional format - a concern raised by Han et al (2010) and more recently by Hafez (2017). An integration model *can* ostensibly be facilitated through a liberal approach to education, which aims to empower learners by developing capacities to perform the tasks they need to perform and establish key relationships, so they can achieve their potential and flourish in their new society. As discussed above, accepted practices in communicative ESOL methodology aim to develop these skills in English learners. An inclusive approach to immigration, on the other hand, requires learners not only to develop skills to function within society as it currently stands, but also to engage actively with their host community in order to have a transformative impact - to further their own status, but also to contribute to the development of a more inclusive society.

The above inclusive approach to immigration is also congruent with the aims of critical pedagogy. In critical pedagogy, learning is participatory, a multi-directional process. In the same way, the project of building an inclusive society also requires input and active participation from both

immigrants and “indigenous” communities. Such an approach to education is not only focused on empowering students as individuals, but also aims towards emancipation, as it provides learners with the knowledge and skills to effect change on a societal level.

Table 2 below brings together the concepts of emancipation, immigration and education. It is effectively an expansion of Worthman’s conceptualisation of ‘...the continuum of empowerment to emancipation’ (Worthman 2008: 443). Worthman’s observations of ESOL teaching practice allowed him to identify approaches that are either empowering or emancipatory, and that teaching practice can be placed on a continuum according to its empowering or emancipatory impact. I have extended this continuum to include indoctrination - also a potential intention of education - and have also tied different models of immigration to each concept. The table can therefore be used to identify how different approaches to educational practice impact on the settlement of migrants into society.

Table 2: The Emancipation Continuum

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|
| |  | | |
| <i>Concept</i> | Indoctrination | Empowerment | Emancipation |
| <i>Immigration Model</i> | Assimilation | Integration | Inclusion |
| <i>Educational Approach</i> | Prescriptive Curriculum: Learners are taught to meet the needs of dominant forces in society. | Needs-based Curriculum: Learners are taught knowledge and skills that allows them to reach their potential within existing power structures. | Co-Created Curriculum: Learners are encouraged to critically engage with existing societal structures, and develop skills to effect change. |
| <i>Features</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Pre-determined content and outcomes -Tasks prioritise language over content -Teacher dispenses knowledge as dictated by syllabus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Content selected to develop skills for life, work and further study -Tasks relate to real-world situations and learner needs -Teacher dispenses knowledge according to perceived learner needs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Content negotiated between learners and teacher -Tasks develop critical thinking skills -Learning is multidirectional, between students and teacher and also among students. |

The critical analysis that I have conducted in Chapters 1 and 2 leads me to take the view that ESOL programmes in the Scottish FE sector should seek to promote an inclusive society by providing learners with language

and skills to engage critically with existing societal norms, and challenge examples of hegemony, inequality or social injustice. However, few studies have been done that focus on ESOL in the Scottish context, so the extent to which ESOL currently plays an emancipatory role is not clear. Nor is it clear whether my views are shared by others involved in college ESOL provision. To explore the issue of ESOL for emancipation within the context of Scottish FE, I conducted a research study that aimed to gather and analyse data from three principal sources: government policy, college ESOL providers and ESOL learners. In the next chapter I describe my approach to this study, including a rationale for the methodology and a description of the instruments used.

Chapter 3: Research Approach, Methodology and Design

Introduction

In the previous chapter I introduced the emancipation continuum as a means of critically analysing and evaluating the impact of college ESOL provision on the settlement of refugees, and on the extent to which it leads to their emancipation as participants in the positive transformation of society. This continuum has emerged from my analysis of emancipation, integration and education conducted in the first two chapters. It summarises the position I take at the starting point of my research – namely that potential exists for ESOL programmes to have a positive, socially transformative impact through the development of language and critical thinking skills that enable immigrants to move from positions of vulnerability towards active participation in the development of an inclusive society.

My analysis of existing literature related to ESOL practice suggests that it is heavily influenced by theories of liberal education. While this may serve to empower individual learners, Marxist conceptualisations of emancipation and Foucauldian conceptualisations of power support the argument that individual empowerment is effectively a form of self-regulation (Inglis 1997, Gillies 2011) and does nothing to address inequalities of power or other forms of social injustice. Liberalism is therefore a flawed model for education, in terms of achieving what it hopes to achieve. If ESOL is to facilitate the *inclusion* of learners in Scottish society, rather than simply giving them the skills to self-regulate, a more emancipatory approach to ESOL is required - something more 'Freirean-inspired' (Cooke 2006: 71).

Inevitably, reaching the above conclusion about ESOL provision in Scottish colleges raises questions about both current and future college ESOL delivery, leading me to embark on this particular research study.

Developing Research Questions

Detailed analysis of relevant concepts is an important starting point, but in order to generate data that can be used to reveal insights into ESOL and its emancipatory potential, I must also explore relevant aspects of current practice. To give my study some focus I needed to articulate the focus of my research more specifically - ideally in the form of a question. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012) stress the importance of articulating a research question in this way:

Before one can even begin to design a research project, ...one needs not only a topic of research but a research question...Articulating that research question itself can reveal the approach or logic of enquiry it contains or rests on (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 24).

My original proposal was based on the following research question:

To what extent are college ESOL programmes a source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland? (Brown 2016: 2)

However, this question implies that emancipation is something that can be objectively measured, as well as presupposing that emancipation is in fact a valid or legitimate goal for ESOL. I have already established that emancipation can be conceptualised on an individual or a social level, and that its perceived importance as part of the integration process can vary, due to the multiple possible conceptualisations of integration. The roles played and the power held by different stakeholders also make ESOL provision heavily dependent on subjective interpretation and perception. Furthermore, the conceptual analysis developed in writing Chapters 1 and 2 had allowed me to refine my own views on ESOL and emancipation, leading me to become interested in how representative these views are across the profession. Rather than attempting to establish how things *are*, I was more interested in exploring how things are *perceived to be* by key stakeholders. I also needed to be clear about my own position, as a stakeholder in college ESOL provision with a clearly articulated standpoint on the issue of emancipation.

Some modification of my research question was therefore required. The focus needed to be on identifying how ESOL programmes are regarded as

a source of emancipation, and what potential there is for the emancipation of ESOL learners to be realised within the existing constructs of the FE sector – not only to expose and analyse these perceptions, but also to explore how these perceptions impact on the potential for ESOL to emancipate immigrants. It was therefore necessary to ensure the question allowed for diverse values and interpretations to be expressed and factored into the analysis:

*To what extent are college ESOL programmes **perceived as** a source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland?*

This amendment to my research question allowed me to explore perceived realities beyond my own individual perspective. Acknowledging that the purpose of the study was to explore realities as perceived from diverse perspectives led me to develop subsidiary questions, which focused on key stakeholders in college ESOL provision, as presented in Table 3:

Table 3: List of Research Questions

| Area of Study | Subsidiary Research Questions |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Policy</i> | Is emancipation perceived as a valid goal within policy discourse? Do policy documents reveal a desire for immigrants to be included in society to the extent that they are prepared for society to change to accommodate them, or is the expectation that immigrants adapt to the normative society? Is ESOL perceived as a vehicle for achieving either of these objectives? |
| <i>Practitioners</i> | What are the perceptions of people who teach ESOL? If current methodology is grounded in liberalism, does this mean they only seek to empower? Is emancipation in the form of societal transformation something that they consider as a valid goal? How are their perceptions reflected in their praxis? |
| <i>Learners</i> | What are the perceptions of ESOL learners with regard to emancipation? Do they identify themselves as being excluded, vulnerable or at risk? Do they see a need for society to change in order to accommodate them, or do they accept a need on their part to adapt and conform? Do they see their ESOL course as a form of indoctrination, or empowerment, or a means of transforming society to address inequalities that they are victims of? |

Selecting a Research Paradigm

Rejection of a Scientific Approach

As I suggested above in quoting Schwarz-Shea and Yanow (2012), establishing an overarching research question allows me to identify the most logical line of enquiry to follow through my empirical research. This requires me to select an appropriate paradigm, which Guba and Lincoln (1994) define as a '...basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator' (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 105). Looking at my research question, the context in which my study is located, and my own positionality within this context, a research approach that follows a scientific method and the application of quantitative methods would not be appropriate. Ontologically, it would require me to assume the existence of a single and objective reality, leading to an epistemology that uses objectivity as a key tool for establishing truth.

Scientific approaches to educational research in general have been widely criticised (for example Avis 2006), largely because education is an inherently social activity and its research involves the study of human behaviour. As Guba and Lincoln point out:

Human behaviour, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 106).

While scientific methods are frequently used in the field of Applied Linguistics, especially in attempts to establish principles of language acquisition, and then to use them to inform methodology (for example Ellis 1985), my study focuses less on establishing a single reality and more on identifying various human perceptions *of* reality. The aim underlying my research question was not to test the falsifiability or confirmability of a hypothesis, as would be expected within a scientific paradigm (Popper 2002: 61), but to explore the varied and multiple meanings that different stakeholders make, and the purposes of college ESOL provision that they identify. This therefore runs counter to the possibility of there being any pre-existing objective reality or truth; to

assume that such a reality exists would remove the validity of any contradictory meanings that are made by my research subjects.

A positivist or post-positivist paradigm also requires the researcher to be objective: collecting and analysing data without prejudice or bias, and drawing logical conclusions based on objective and unbiased thought processes (Mack 2010: 7). The assumption that this is even possible has been contested for some time, and famously dismissed by feminist philosopher Donna Haraway as a “god trick” (Haraway 1988). Certainly, my position would appear to make it impossible for me to claim objectivity within this research context. I have many years of experience in English language teaching, I lead a college ESOL curriculum and I deliver parts of this curriculum directly to ESOL learners. I also have responsibility over other college lecturers who deliver the same curriculum, and I occasionally deliver teacher education courses and workshops for ESOL practitioners across Scotland. As well as this, I am a member of an Education Scotland-led committee that seeks to evaluate and facilitate the implementation of the Adult ESOL Strategy. All of this means that I am heavily involved in college ESOL delivery at almost every level, and as such I hold reasonably strong views about the research topic. Given my positionality, I cannot possibly claim to be objective or dispassionate about the content of the research. This is another reason why a scientific or positivist research approach would be inappropriate.

A Critical Paradigm

However, my positionality within the research context need not preclude me from researching a topic that is close to me. Indeed, being so embedded within college ESOL provision surely puts me at an advantage when it comes to studying this area. It is, however, necessary to establish a research paradigm that allows me to clearly acknowledge, and indeed embrace, my positionality. It is no doubt obvious that I am sympathetic to the ideas underpinning critical pedagogy, and the role that education can play in addressing inequalities and achieving social emancipation. I share Allman’s view that

...it is impossible to see how a society that is capable of guaranteeing a better future for humanity will ever come about without critical education (Allman 2010: 150).

My belief that inequalities exist as a result of hegemonic forces would naturally align me with a *critical ontology*, in which reality is shaped and constructed by discourses imposed by those in power. Within this construct, research follows a political agenda, aiming to achieve '...the emancipation of individuals and groups in an egalitarian society' (Cohen et al 2007: 26). This in turn would suggest I adopt an epistemology in which knowledge is value-laden, and cannot be obtained without accepting the relationship between researcher and subject. Guba and Lincoln describe critical epistemology in this way:

The investigator and the investigated object are assumed to be interactively linked, with the values of the investigator (and of situated 'others') inevitably influencing the inquiry. Findings are therefore *value mediated*. (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110).

In my particular study, relationships between the investigator and the subjects, and between the various different subjects, are in many ways related to *power*. Simplistically put, teachers have power over students, managers have power over teachers, policymakers have power over managers. However, power relations between these different stakeholders are not entirely unidirectional and are constantly shifting, oscillating and dynamic. As a teacher, a manager and a contributor to policy implementation, my own power in the research context varies depending on the role I am playing at any particular time. My role as researcher adds a further dimension to power and the relationships I have with the research subjects.

Because my study seeks to investigate the views and perceptions of a range of different stakeholders, it is likely to reveal perceptions that are influenced by a multiplicity of rationales, motivations and subjectivities. My own view is that ESOL has great potential as a source of emancipation for immigrant groups. However, I cannot use this belief as a basic premise of my study, since the whole purpose is to explore the beliefs and perceptions of the subjects. My empirical research does *not* aim to explore

how emancipation can be achieved, or how to pursue an emancipatory agenda. I touch on these questions briefly when discussing the implications of my findings in Chapter 7, but the real aim of this study to explore whether or not a *perceived need exists* for ESOL as emancipatory practice. I acknowledge my own value judgements but must take care not to impose them on the subjects or on the study as a whole.

The research question, then, focuses on a specific concept, namely emancipation, and aims to explore how this concept is perceived, and what role it can play, in the context of ESOL provision in the Scottish FE sector. The subjectivity embedded in my key research question allowed me to identify perceived truths, which I could then analyse critically. It was important that this analysis allowed me to apply my own experience of the research topic as a participant as well as a researcher. Conclusions drawn from this analysis and presented in Chapter 7 would, using Elliott and Timulak's terminology, be 'critical/action focused', as I hoped to explore 'What's right or wrong about the phenomenon? How could it be made better?' (Elliott and Timulak 2005: 149).

An Interpretivist Approach Within a Critical Paradigm

In locating my study within a critical paradigm, then, I worked on the premise that reality is socially constructed, derived largely from the historical development of discourses imposed by hegemonic forces (Yin 2016: 22), and also by resulting discourses of resistance. Within this ideology, it is possible to take an interpretivist approach to research which, following Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, is based on the premise that '...we live in a world of potentially multiple, intersubjective social realities' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 41). My study is concerned with multiple realities as perceived by different stakeholders in the context of ESOL in Scotland, including those perceived by less powerful groups. Myers (2008) states that '...access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments' (Myers 2008: 38). The goal of my study was to engage directly with stakeholders in order to gain some

insight into their (socially constructed) realities, and to make meaning from the emergent data.

The importance of gathering data from a range of sources is highlighted by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, who describe the 'hermeneutic circle...[as]...a way of articulating the sense-making that goes on in interpretive processes' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 30). They advise that 'Interpretive researchers look both "here" and "there", in an ever-widening set of concentric circles' (ibid). My decision to include a range of stakeholder groups was grounded in this need to look for meaning in a variety of "places".

Taking an interpretive approach to my study also helped to address the issues of positionality that arose from my own involvement in the research context. Interpretivist epistemology is described by Cohen and Crabtree in this way:

[Interpretivism] assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The investigator and the object of investigation are linked such that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others and the world. (Cohen and Crabtree 2006).

This view suggests that it is impossible for any researcher to be truly objective or dispassionate when conducting a study; their own knowledge is bound to impact on the way they interact with subjects, collect data and draw conclusions from their analyses. With an interpretivist approach, then, the fact that I am deeply involved in the research topic is not a barrier to collecting meaningful data – as long as I remain aware of it – and is in fact an embedded strength. The intersubjectivity between the researcher and research subjects is, after all, central to the goal of making meaning from the data gathered. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow argue against the use of control measures to mitigate researcher bias for precisely these reasons:

To presume that humans cannot be aware of their "biases" is to reject human consciousness – the possibility of self-awareness and reflexivity – and human capacity for learning (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 98).

Whether designing a questionnaire, conducting an interview, or analysing data, the researcher is intrinsically connected to the process in a way that makes it impossible to claim detachment, and undesirable to do so as this would remove their capacity to interpret the data effectively.

Rather than engaging in futile attempts to avoid researcher bias, then, interpretive research requires a strong awareness of, and reference to, *reflexivity* – the capacity for research participants' actions and responses to be influenced by the researcher, and the similar impact that participant responses can have on the researcher (Yin 2016: 339). Reflexivity became an important aspect of my research design, which I describe in more detail later in this chapter.

Research Methodology

Principles of Interpretivist Research

Having selected a critical paradigm within which to place the study, and an interpretivist approach to the research, it was crucial to adopt methodological principles that fit within this paradigm. Taking an interpretive approach required me to use abductive reasoning, exploring the concept of emancipation from a range of angles in order to establish what, or even whether, conclusions can be drawn as a result of this meaning-making process. Such an approach requires the research design to be 'open-ended, dynamic and flexible' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow: 99). Advice from the Open University website on conducting interpretive research stresses the need for

...an exploratory orientation, one that tries to learn what is going on in particular situations and to arrive at an understanding of the distinctive orientations of the people concerned. (Open University 2017).

Interpretive research involves exploring the research topic using methods that allow data to be gathered from a range of stakeholders. The goal is not to impose a theory on the topic and then test its veracity, but instead to explore the topic in an attempt to understand how it is perceived by the research participants, and then use this understanding to draw conclusions. With this particular study it was important not to assume too

much about participants' knowledge of the research topic, and instead to adopt a methodology that allowed participants to give their own views on the relevance of emancipation in ESOL provision.

However, it is important to note here that the scope for flexibility within my research was limited by the parameters within which it took place. Obtaining ethical approval to conduct the study is of course a necessary part of the process for University of Glasgow students, but it required me to submit in advance the instruments that I would use in my fieldwork. My capacity to 'improvise in response to field conditions' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 99) was, therefore, somewhat limited.

Triangulation for Data Enrichment

In interpretive research, '...there can be multiple, valid claims to knowledge' (Open University 2017). Consequently, in order to find any kind of meaning or truth through an interpretive study I needed to gather data on the topic from a range of perspectives. It was important that this range included perspectives that may be less well-represented, for whatever reason, in the dominant discourse. While I was very keen to include policy within the research, in order to identify how hegemonic forces shape ESOL provision, I also wanted to ensure that the voices of more passive stakeholders – those for whom policy is routinely something that is "done to them" – were included within the study.

A common technique used in many forms of academic research is triangulation – the principle of gathering data from different perspectives in order to corroborate findings (for more on triangulation in qualitative research see Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Yin (2016: 87) advises that researchers should try to triangulate as much as possible within a study, not only by gathering data from multiple sources, but also through the use of different means of data collection. In designing my research questions I had already identified three different stakeholder groups, naturally leading towards triangulation of data sources.

It is also important to note that triangulation is not only an important strategy for corroborating data that emerges from all three sources; I was

also able to use it as a means of exposing and problematising any conflicting perceptions that may exist among different stakeholders. If the views gathered from the different groups are not consistent, this does *not* invalidate their views. In fact, any differences identified could be particularly noteworthy, relevant, and amenable to further analysis. In describing her use of triangulation in conducting an interpretive, ethnographic study, Benadusi makes the point that triangulation can do much more than corroborate or refute findings:

...analyzing data from multiple sources...does not simply serve to provide the reader with an artificial sense of reliability. It also allows the ethnographer to imbue his or her research and subsequent writing with the dialogical, multivocal, and open style that most anthropologists currently consider a mark of quality...In the long term, moreover, triangulation proved to be a precious tool...to compare different (and, in many cases, opposing) perspectives...in subsequent phases of fieldwork, and to retrospectively evaluate my ethnographic positioning. (Benadusi 2015: 562).

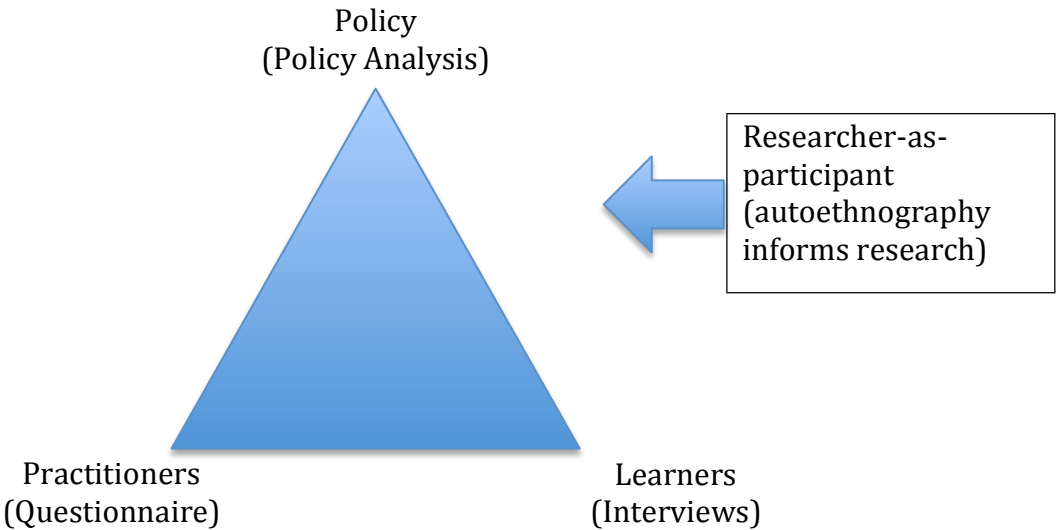
With this in mind, I sought to design research instruments that used triangulation in the hope that this would yield a rich source of data for interpretive analysis, while also addressing issues of positionality that were bound to arise in my interactions with the subjects and the data generated from them.

Selection and Design of Research Instruments

Having used my subsidiary research questions (see Table 3) to establish three broad sources of data – ESOL policy, ESOL providers and ESOL learners - the next step was to identify appropriate instruments that would allow me to identify the realities as perceived from these three different perspectives. As mentioned in the previous section I wanted to enrich the dataset by using a range of instruments as well as a range of sources, and in any case it was either more appropriate or convenient to gather the data from the three stakeholder groups in different ways. In this section I give a brief description of the rationales used in selecting and designing the research instruments, with particular reference to interpretive research methodology. Table 4 provides a visual

representation of the instruments and approaches used, and below this I provide a description and rationale for each instrument.

Table 4: Research Instruments and Modes of Triangulation



Focus on Policy

In the early stages of developing this dissertation, my intention was to include policy analysis within the contextual background of the study, rather than making it part of the study itself. After all, I had previously completed extensive analysis of policies affecting college ESOL provision in other doctoral assignments (Brown 2014, Brown 2015a, Brown 2015b). However, as Trowler (2003) points out, ‘...policy statements are almost always subject to multiple interpretations depending upon the standpoints of the people doing the interpretative “work”’. (Trowler 2003: 96). Since my first attempt at policy analysis in 2014, my own standpoint has shifted considerably, as has my ability to employ critical interpretive methods in the analytical process. I was aware that my increasingly critical approach to research and education, informed by my development as a doctoral candidate, meant that further policy analysis could quite easily reveal factors that I had previously not identified, and even lead me towards unexpected conclusions.

Furthermore, as recent relevant policies have been implemented, their real impact – as opposed to their intended impact – on practice is becoming apparent. Trowler advises against regarding policy simply as a document, suggesting instead that ‘...it is better to see policy as a process: something which is dynamic rather than static.’ (Trowler 2003: 96). Ball also makes the point that policy implementation is embedded in its definition:

Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended. Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map onto the “wild profusion” of local practice. (Ball 1994: 10, quoted in Trowler 2003: 96).

The dynamic nature of policy was something that I hoped to capture in my study. By bringing policy analysis into the research, my aim was to include policy as a stakeholder within the whole process of college ESOL delivery, allowing me to analyse issues of power and control – which were likely to emerge from this analysis – as part of the study. Therefore, while the policy analysis that makes up Chapter 4 contains some data, and even some conclusions, covered in previous doctoral assignments, it builds considerably on previous findings and incorporates more recent developments in terms of policy implementation.

It was important for the methods used in my policy analysis to be congruent with an interpretive approach to research. For some time, the practice of applying positivist, scientific principles to policy analysis has been criticised, with Grace arguing this point in 1991:

This [scientific] approach is seductive in its concreteness, its apparently value-free and objective stance, and its direct relation to action. However, what gets lost...is the examination of the politics and ideologies and interest groups of the policy making process; the making visible of internal contradictions within policy formulations, and the wider structuring and constraining effects of the social and economic relations within which policy making is taking place. (Grace 1991: 26).

As an alternative to policy science, Grace proposed the use of “policy scholarship”, allowing historical and contextual issues to be brought into the analytical process. The situating of education policy within a clear, layered historical, social, political and economic context allows analysis to

address the impact of these complex but significant factors on policy design and implementation. This in turn allows the policy researcher to employ techniques of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Olssen et al 2004); these techniques are congruent with a critical paradigm and therefore appropriate for my study. Such an approach involves the definition of discourse as ‘...a complex dimension itself anchored in extra-discursive conditions of a given political and economic order’ (Olssen et al 2004: 68). To analyse a policy effectively, then, it is important to look beyond the language contained within the document to examine power relations and the impact that the policy may be having on the location and distribution of power.

A policy analysis that explores the issue of power and the influence of political, social and economic factors on policymaking can be further enhanced by the application of critical discourse analysis in the spirit of Fairclough (1989). Fairclough’s work is also concerned with the locations of power, but his focus is specifically on the identification of *specific linguistic features* and how they are used to exercise, impose, or distribute power. Fairclough argues that ‘the struggle over language can manifest itself as a struggle between ideologically diverse *discourse types*’ (Fairclough 1989: 90). Applying critical discourse analysis to education policy analysis, therefore, was crucial in allowing me to explore the ideological underpinnings of policy, based on the discourse techniques used.

In describing her own use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in a study of UK education policy, Mulderrig points out that CDA ‘...explicitly acknowledges the (normative) position of the researcher and the interpretive process of the research’ (Mulderrig 2015: 442). She goes on:

CDA has an explicitly emancipatory agenda in which critical *interpretation* of empirical objects is seen as a mechanism both for explaining social phenomena and changing them (ibid).

Applying CDA within my own policy analysis allowed me to acknowledge my own position within the context of the research: not only as someone who would seek to use this study as a means of identifying social

injustices, but also as someone who hopes that the study itself may contribute towards social change.

The purpose, then, of conducting a policy analysis as part of my empirical research was to explore how the purpose of ESOL provision is perceived in policy, and the emancipatory potential it may have. This analysis goes beyond previous analyses I have conducted, by making use of Foucauldian and Critical Discourse Analysis to reveal the ideologies underpinning policy development, which in turn are likely to impact on policy implementation. This policy analysis is presented in Chapter 4.

Focus on Practitioners

Following on from the policy analysis, my research aimed to explore the perceptions of people directly involved in the delivery of ESOL programmes in the Scottish FE sector. This included professionals who perform a range of roles – those who teach ESOL, those involved in the development and management of ESOL programmes, and those who are responsible for staff development and teacher education. Many ESOL professionals perform more than one of these roles, and different terms (lecturer, trainer, tutor, teacher, coordinator, manager etc.) are used differently in different colleges. For the purposes of this study, then, I use the term 'practitioner' to refer to anyone who is engaged in any of the roles described above.

In deciding how best to gather data from this stakeholder group, I had to consider certain restrictions. I know from experience that time to reflect on practice – outside of required institutional self-evaluation procedures – is not something that college ESOL practitioners have much of. Nor did I have the time or resources to travel to different colleges to engage with individual practitioners on a personal level. However, as I was concerned with the way in which practitioners interpret and implement policy and identify with different approaches to ESOL practice, I did want to explore a sufficiently wide range of views that might reveal themes that exist on a national level, rather than in a specific locality. I therefore needed to find a means of generating data from practitioners working across a range of

physical locations, without imposing too much on their time. This led me to select a questionnaire as the primary source of data. In using a questionnaire in this study it was important to design it in such a way that it allowed participants to give their own personal perceptions of the issues. The Roper Center at Cornell University stresses the importance of using open-ended questions to allow for participants to express their views, or by following up limited-response questions with open-ended questions to 'substantiate that mood' expressed in the limited-response question (Roper Center 2017).

The key role of the researcher as an active participant in interpretive research lies, to a large extent, in the data analysis consisting of a lengthy "sense-making" process, which involves making descriptive and analytic notes, exploring specific aspects of the data in more detail, identifying commonalities and/or tensions, and an ongoing, cyclical process of testing, re-testing and revising the researcher's understandings of what the data reveals (for more on techniques for sense-making in interpretive research see Schwarz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 104-107).

To ensure that sufficient time would be available for this process to evolve, I designed and distributed the questionnaires relatively early in the research process, while I was still exploring the key concepts and before I had performed the policy analysis. Furthermore, the ethical approval that I had obtained from the university to do the study was based on the questionnaire that I had submitted in my original ethics application. It is well within the parameters of an interpretive research paradigm to improvise or adapt methods as the fieldwork unfolds, but it was also necessary to ensure that all research remained within the limits granted by the university ethics committee. On gathering the data, I still had considerable freedom to apply a range of interpretive techniques and strategies that allowed me to draw themes and patterns out of the data.

After receiving the completed questionnaires, I followed Yin's (2016: 186) model of data analysis, using the five different – but recursive – phases of *compiling a database, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting* and *concluding*. Going through these phases recursively allowed me to engage deeply with the data. The need to analyse, revise, re-analyse and re-

revise is crucial to interpretive research, as explained here by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012):

Unlike the single test characteristic of front-loaded research..., field and archival settings provide the researcher with many opportunities for “testing” developing understandings of research puzzles while the research is under way (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 105).

As the analysis developed, certain themes began to emerge. Braun and Clarke (2006) and Bazeley (2009) are critical of how the methodology of thematic analysis lacks clear definition and description, despite being so widely used in qualitative research. In performing my own analysis of the interview data I drew on some of the practical techniques outlined in the above papers. A full description of this part of the study is provided in Chapter 5.

Focus on Learners

My research of policy and of practitioner perceptions sought to generate and interpret data on a national level. However, in exploring the views of ESOL learners I chose to focus on a specific context. Aside from the practical issues raised by attempting to gather data from a range of geographical locations, I also felt that I would have more success in understanding the views of ESOL learners if I selected subjects with whom I could build up a level of mutual trust. Furthermore, my goal was not to select subjects as a representative sample of all ESOL learners in Scotland, or to gather data that could be applied to a wider context. In interpretive research, any theorising that results from data analysis is done ‘...on the basis of knowledge that makes clear its connections to specific (kinds of) human beings in specific, historically and culturally understood settings’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 47). As there was no need for my findings to be generalizable, I chose to focus on a specific group of learners who were studying in my college and who were all enrolled on a course that I was teaching.

When giving advice on research design, Yin (2016) stresses the need to ‘...capture social life as others live and see it, not as researchers

hypothesize or expect it to be' (Yin 2016: 107). In designing an instrument for this part of the study it was important to allow the participants' realities to be articulated in the raw data, before moving on to analyse and interpret this data. To ensure that this happened, I did not structure the interviews rigidly. However, I did need to consider in advance the questions I might ask, to ensure the data remained relevant to the study. Also, as English was not the participants' first language I needed to consider carefully how I might word the questions (I elaborate on this issue in Chapter 6). Furthermore, some indicative questions had to be provided as part of my application for ethical approval. I therefore rejected the possibility of conducting informal conversational interviews, which rely '...entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions in a natural interaction' (Gall et al 2003: 239). Instead, I decided to take a general interview guide approach which, according to McNamara, '...provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee' (McNamara 2009: n.pag).

I prepared a set of guide questions (Hill et al 1997) to which I could refer during the interview as required (see Appendix F). I divided the interview into three parts and used this as a loose structure for the interviews. This ensured that each interview would focus on each participant's personal circumstances within the research context, their views on integration and their views on the role of ESOL. However, the very nature of the interview process and the need to allow learners the space to express their views meant that the interviews only loosely followed this structure, and not all of the questions were addressed.

This somewhat loose approach to interview structure is normal in interpretive research. Data collection procedures must leave scope for participants to express their views and, as Turner (2010) points out in his description of the general interview guide approach, '...the researcher remains in the driver's seat...but flexibility takes precedence based on perceived prompts from the participants' (Turner 2010: 755-756). The need for me to remain 'in the driver's seat' stemmed from my relationship with the participants and their resulting expectation that I would play the

role of interlocutor, along with the fact that the interview required participants to reflect on their experiences in ways that they may previously not have done; I knew this could mean that the participants would require some prompting. However, the diversity of the group meant that the nature of their responses was likely to vary greatly, strengthening the importance of both a flexible interview technique, to accommodate a range of response types, and the use of prompting as a natural dialogic technique that ‘...requires the researcher to provide the necessary guidance through the conduct of the interviews’ (Watts 2015: 257).

All 17 students in my class were invited to participate in the research. 12 accepted this invitation, and then, after various call-offs and postponements due to limited availability, 10 were finally interviewed. As the aim was not to work with a representative sample, the actual number of subjects was not so important, as long as the interviews yielded sufficient data to perform a meaningful interpretive analysis. Each interview was between 22 and 52 minutes long, and the ten interviews produced a total of over 50,000 words of transcribed text, providing a rich dataset for interpretation (see Appendix G).

After the interviews had been conducted, I followed very similar procedures as I did with the questionnaire responses to analyse and interpret the data. I provide further information on the specifics of these procedures in Chapter 6.

The Researcher as a Research Participant

Of course, locating the study within my own professional context and using my own students as subjects increased my own involvement in the research, as a researcher-as-participant, bringing reflexivity overtly into the study. Identifying my position within the research context allowed me to engage in participant observation (Yin 2016: 338), as a means of corroborating or questioning the subjects’ interview contributions. However, as the study developed I found myself reflecting on my own actions, reactions and emotions as much as the subjects. My observation notes, therefore, developed into a resource for practising what could be

described as a form of autoethnography, which Schwandt (2007) describes as

...a particular form of writing that seeks to unite ethnographic (looking outward at a world beyond one's own) and autobiographical (gazing inward for a story of one's self) intentions. (Schwandt 2007: 16).

Events that took place inside the classroom were, of course, located in a world that is very much my own. However, I used these events to identify aspects of students' lives beyond the classroom, and then explored how these discoveries impacted on my research questions.

As the study developed I discovered that other aspects of my everyday professional practice were revealing data that was both relevant and useful to the study. The classroom was an obvious place to observe the learners that I had selected as subjects, but it was also a place to explore my own perceptions of emancipation, as an ESOL practitioner. In addition to reflections on classroom-based practice, though, I found that discussions with colleagues, meetings with practitioners from other colleges, and discussions with members of other professional organisations, revealed data or raised issues that could feed into all aspects of my research – at policy, practitioner and learner level. While the data collection process is a necessary part of interpretive research, it is also important to bear in mind that '...the major "instrument" for the conduct of research is the researcher him- or herself' (Schwarz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 104). The data collected through the policy analysis, questionnaires and interviews only became meaningful when I engaged with it and began performing my interpretive analysis. This analysis, inevitably, is not only informed by the content of the data, but also by my own knowledge and experience of the context, as is evident throughout Chapters 4-6. My reflexive, auto-ethnographic approach to the analysis is even more pronounced in Chapter 7, in which I critically explore the themes from each part of the study more deeply in order to interpret meaning that relates to college ESOL provision in a broader sense. I discuss the risks and limitations that arise within this research context in the section below.

Limitations, Risks and Mitigating Action.

All research is limited by a range of factors, and I lay out the limitations to my research study here. The lack of generalizability inherent in interpretive research can easily be regarded as a limitation (Yin 2016: 103), as any findings cannot be directly applied to other contexts. This does not, however, mean that my study has no value; indeed, a scientific approach that sought to arrive at generalizable conclusions could not possibly cover the broad scope that my study encompasses, and any generalizable findings would be very narrow. However, I must still acknowledge that the research subjects are not representative of a wider group, and the meanings made from the data analysis only apply to their own specific context. Future research may seek to replicate my methods, or use my findings to seek parallels in other contexts, but it should not seek to generalise my findings or assume that the conclusions I draw from my study can automatically be applied to other contexts.

Another limitation is one of currency. While writing this dissertation various social and political events have unfolded, and new data has emerged that is relevant to my research topic. I have tried to incorporate some of these into my dissertation, but the long-term impact of certain events is impossible to predict. It will be important for readers of my study to consider the temporal context that it is located in. The contemporary relevance of the findings presented in the study may identify trajectories to facilitate future assumptions, but may also diminish over time, as government policies change and the impact of recent shifts in the political and cultural climate become more apparent.

It should also be borne in mind that, as a means of researching perceptions in Scotland of the emancipatory potential of ESOL, the study is limited to the views of ESOL stakeholders. It does not take into account the views of migrants who, for whatever reason, are *not* learning English. In many parts of Scotland, and in the Glasgow area in particular, the demand for ESOL courses far outweighs the supply (Education Scotland 2014: 7). To get a clear picture of how, or whether, ESOL is perceived as a step towards emancipation, it would also be useful to research migrants

who are unable to access, or choose not to participate in ESOL courses. However, the scope of this particular study did not allow for such a focus.

With regard to identifying ethical risks in the study, I used Hammersley and Traianou's (2012) five ethical principles of *minimising harm*, *respecting autonomy*, *protecting privacy*, *offering reciprocity* and *treating people equitably*. While physical harm was not a risk presented in the implementation of this research, focusing on and analysing the views of ESOL practitioners brought with it the risk of causing damage to reputations or professional relationships. Similarly, disclosing the views of learners could risk damaging relationships. The need to minimise harm was therefore bound up with the need to protect privacy. I took steps to ensure the identities of all subjects were not revealed, by changing names and avoiding references to specific organisations or other data that could impact on relationships. Autonomy was respected in that subjects were in no way coerced into participation, and were free to remove themselves from the study at any time. My ability to offer reciprocity was limited, though the act of completing the questionnaire may, as a form of reflective practice, have had some kind of positive professional impact. Similarly, while no monetary or other compensation was provided to ESOL learner subjects, the interview process offered each subject an extended opportunity for English language practice, language input and the development of critical thinking.

In my initial proposal for this dissertation (Brown 2016: 15) I identified the need to treat people equitably as being particularly important when conducting the interviews with ESOL learners. As the research subjects were studying along with non-participants in the same class, it was important to avoid conflating my two roles of researcher and teacher. This required me to ensure that participants and non-participants were treated equally in the classroom, following clear pedagogical principles of language teaching, to ensure there were no feelings of exclusion or disadvantage as a result of non-participation.

This study includes research across a "hierarchy" of ESOL stakeholders, from ESOL policy at the top to ESOL learners at the bottom. The locations of power, how it is used and any shifts in its distribution were important

factors to consider when establishing findings. The way power impacted on my own relationships with the research participants, and the ethical issues that could emerge from this, were also important. Power relationships exist between myself and the policies that drive my profession, and various relationships exist between myself and the ESOL practitioners who took part in the research – some of whom are responsible to me and others who are not. In devising the questionnaire I took steps to ensure that the identity of participants was not revealed – even to me – as a means of reducing any feelings of power inequality that might influence their responses or my interpretations.

Using my own students as research subjects inevitably raised further issues of positionality. My role as teacher, and the power I hold over my students (both real and perceived) in fulfilling this role, could impact on the way they engaged with me as a researcher. There was a risk that students might perceive their involvement, or non-involvement, in the research as having a potential impact on their course outcome. This could in turn skew the responses they gave in that they might try to provide responses that they thought I wanted to hear.

Conversely, student participants may choose to use my study as a means of “retrieving” power. If, for whatever reason, they were unhappy with me or the course content, they might give responses that did not truly reflect their views in an attempt to subvert the research. To minimise these risks, I followed the university’s ethical guidelines by providing all potential participants with a participant information sheet (see Appendix D). In addition to providing a description of the study and the nature of the research, this document informed students that their involvement in the study had no bearing on their status as students in the college. I also ensured that the research interviews took place outside of class time. This offered a temporal and notional distance between the course and the research, as well as ensuring that the study did not impact negatively on the course by impinging on valuable lesson time.

With regard to power and positionality, it is important to consider this observation from Schwartz-Shea and Yanow:

...power is relational, and the power of the researcher, the researched individuals, and the types of research relationships they may develop can vary considerably. (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 60).

The location of power in the relationships between my students and me was not fixed, and could change as our roles fluctuated between teacher-student and researcher-participant. Furthermore, interpretive studies seek to explore these relationships, rather than regarding them as barriers. Interpretive researchers' involvement in a study allows them to embrace their positionality and maximise the relationships that exist with participants. Yin (2016) points out that research questions can often only be addressed '...by making inferences about observed behaviors and by talking to people' (Yin 2016: 40). This means that '...the researcher unavoidably serves as a research instrument' (ibid.). The data gathered from the research subjects is filtered through the researcher, meaning that the researcher's own beliefs and attitudes influence all aspects of the study.

The need for measures to ensure researcher objectivity are no longer required within this paradigm. Instead, interpretive research presents other challenges in the form of reflexivity, which Callaway describes as 'a constant mode of self analysis' (Callaway 1992: 33). The challenge relates to the researcher's ability to maintain '...a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and an "other"' (Bourke 2014: 2). I clarified my position on the issue of ESOL and emancipation towards the end of Chapter 2, when I presented a case for ESOL programmes to pursue an emancipatory agenda. I have also declared my relationship with the interview subjects in this section. It was necessary for me, then, to maintain an awareness of my positionality regarding these issues throughout the study.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the empirical research that I conducted for this dissertation. I have articulated the questions and explained how they led me to take a critical approach to the study, and to

use interpretive methods to explore the topic from diverse perspectives. In seeking to make meaning from policy discourse, practitioner perceptions and learner perceptions, it was necessary to use three main instruments of research. A policy analysis, drawing on elements of Foucauldian and Critical Discourse Analysis, explores the ideological and philosophical underpinnings of the key policies that impact on ESOL provision in Scottish colleges. A questionnaire elicits the views of college ESOL practitioners across Scotland, which are analysed using interpretive methods. Loosely structured interviews provide data that is used to explore the perceptions of ESOL learners. The following three Chapters focus on each of the three areas of the study and include a recursive and highly reflexive process of interpretive analysis, which aims to make meaning from each individual dataset. Inevitably, my interpretive analysis drew also on my own knowledge and experience of the research topic, and my location within the research context, introducing features of auto-ethnography to the study. Wider interpretations, critically examining the reasons behind the research findings and their implications for college ESOL provision, are provided in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4: Policy Analysis

Introduction

This chapter presents the research I conducted to explore the perceptions located in policy discourse, and consists largely of policy analyses. The main policy guiding ESOL provision in Scotland is the recently refreshed *ESOL Strategy for Scotland* (Scottish Government 2015a), but the college sector as a whole is heavily influenced by other policies, most notably *Developing the Young Workforce* (Scottish Government 2014b). In previous doctoral assignments (Brown 2014, 2015a, 2015b) I have analysed these two policies and identified tensions that exist between their underpinning educational philosophies, leading me to claim that the Scottish Government appears to be limiting the emancipatory potential of its own ESOL Strategy by forcing all college programmes to operate within a highly instrumental, neoliberal paradigm (Brown 2017a).

This chapter establishes context with a brief synopsis of policies related to immigration and integration. The primary focus though is on education policy - specifically policy that impacts directly on ESOL provision in Scottish colleges, and I use most of this chapter to build on previous conclusions on the impact of policy on the emancipatory potential of college ESOL provision. To this end, I follow principles of Foucauldian discourse analysis to “excavate” meaning (Olssen 2004), supported by Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1989) of the language used in the refreshed Adult ESOL Strategy (Scottish Government 2015). This further analysis has uncovered interesting new insights into the emancipatory potential of ESOL policy in Scotland, which I present in this chapter.

UK Immigration and Integration Policy

Immigration Policy

A useful place to start contextualising ESOL policy is to explore the issue of immigration, which has become an increasingly prominent and divisive political issue in the last 10 years. Concerns about immigration stem from the increase in inward migration to the UK that took place under the New

Labour government between 1997 and 2010. Policies such as the *Immigration and Asylum Act* (UK Government 1999) and the expansion of the European Union in 2004, and again in 2007 (Europa 2017) led to the arrival of several thousand asylum seekers in the Glasgow area between 2000 and 2005, and an increase in the inward migration of EU nationals, from an average of 2000 between 1991-99 to 18000 in 2007 (Migration Observatory 2013a).

The two principal aims of the *Immigration and Asylum Act* were

...to ensure that migration to the UK is controlled, and to provide refuge for those deemed to be fleeing persecution and in danger of their lives. (Scottish Executive 2003).

However, New Labour also regarded the Act as being part of a wider agenda, namely '...radical expansion of legal migration routes into this country...opening up new routes for low skilled and seasonal labour' (ibid). This wider aim, then, suggests that the New Labour government of the time did not equate *controlling* immigration with *reducing* immigration. On the contrary, the wider objective above implies a desire to increase legitimate immigration in order to meet specific gaps in the workforce, while minimising the cost to employers. Somerville describes New Labour's immigration policy under Tony Blair's tenure as demonstrating '...a strong commitment to the management of migration for macroeconomic gain' (Somerville 2007b). This signals an explicitly neoliberal agenda, the marketization of the workforce and the use of transnational migration to recruit labour as required by industry. However, a commitment to social inclusion (see section on Integration Policy below) also suggests at least a notional investment in social justice that set New Labour's policies apart from those of previous Conservative governments (Young 2003).

Since their election as part of a coalition government in 2010 and then later as the sole party of government from 2015, the Conservative Party has instead pursued an anti-immigration agenda, reducing net migration to the UK by 102,000 between 2010 and 2012 (Migration Observatory 2013b). This was followed by the decision to hold a referendum on EU

membership in 2016, motivated to a large extent by pressure within and to the Right of the party to end free movement of EU nationals into the UK (Goodwin and Heath 2016).

The Conservative party's Euroscepticism could, paradoxically, be regarded as anti-neoliberal, since the EU itself is often described as a neoliberal institution (Bohle 2006). However, it is also possible to identify an anti-globalisation, pro-nationalist approach to politics as being fully supportive of a neoliberal agenda. A long-standing concern within the Conservative Party is that too much legislative power is held by the European Union, limiting the capacity for further marketization and more aggressive neoliberal policymaking. Brexit has been presented as an opportunity for the UK to "take back control" of its own governance, but from a neoliberal perspective it is also an opportunity for the UK to "free itself" from the legislative and regulatory obligations that come with EU membership (Harmes 2012). While it is possible then to identify neoliberal principles underpinning New Labour's pro-immigration policy in the 2000's, it is also possible to regard recent Conservative political manoeuvring as pursuing what Vail (2015) describes as '...an unapologetic agenda of neoliberalism and economic austerity of which Thatcher would doubtless have been proud' (Vail 2015: 119).

Meanwhile, disharmony between the Scottish and UK parliaments has increased as a result of the SNP gaining an overall majority in 2011, the polarising impact of the subsequent referendum on Scottish independence in 2014, and the outcome of the referendum on Brexit, in which 52% of the UK population voted to leave the EU but 62% of the Scottish population voted to remain. While immigration remains non-devolved, the SNP administration continues to push for a pro-immigration agenda (Hepburn 2011: 512-513, Kirkcaldy 2018), which addresses issues created by an otherwise ageing and declining population within Scotland.

Integration Policy

In Chapter 1 I mentioned that under New Labour, concerns arose that the promotion of *multiculturalism*, which values the rights of minority groups

to live according to their cultural norms within a ‘...democratic citizenship of equal liberties, opportunities and responsibilities for individuals’ (Gutman 1994: xii), was leading, albeit inadvertently, to a fragmentation of society (Cantle 2002, Home Office 2003). Both these reports stressed a need for improved channels of communication between social groups, raising the profile of English language as a facilitator of community cohesion, allowing all members of society to ‘participate in a common culture’ (Han et al 2010: 65).

The Crick Report (Home Office 2003) led to the creation of the *Life in the UK* test (UK Government 2017a), a new requirement for attaining British citizenship (Han et al 2010: 65). Applicants whose level of English was inadequate to do this test were required instead to demonstrate progress in English by attaining a recognised ESOL qualification as part of an ESOL course that contained citizenship content. These developments led to most Scottish colleges incorporating both citizenship materials and SQA-accredited ESOL units into their ESOL programmes.

The inclusion of “citizenship” content within the ESOL curriculum could potentially be seen as a form of indoctrination, requiring learners to accept uncritically the systems and values already in place in the UK (see Figure 1: The Emancipation Continuum). However, Han et al quote Goldsmith (2008) to point out that the above requirements for permanent UK residency were designed to ‘...stimulate integration and civic participation as well as constitute proof that those processes are taking place to existing citizens’ (Goldsmith 2008: 116, quoted in Han et al 2010: 65). Han et al concluded that ESOL for Citizenship programmes were regarded by learners as ‘...the avenue to accessing health and welfare benefits, as well as civic participation’, and that ‘...access to English language courses provides an opportunity for personal development and to build bridging social capital for many individual immigrants’. (Han et al 2010: 75). However, it must still be conceded that preparing for the Life in the UK Test requires aspiring citizens to uncritically accept existing norms of British life, implying an indoctrinatory approach rather than anything empowering or emancipatory.

However, the 'somewhat arcane' (Han et al 2010: 64) nature of the Life in the UK test, and recent Conservative changes to citizenship legislation, have undermined both the value of ESOL within the naturalisation process and the role that this process plays in promoting social cohesion.

Citizenship applicants must now attain a 'B1 Intermediate' level of English – equivalent to SCQF Level 4 - *as well as* passing the Life in the UK Test (UK Government 2013). This development makes the attainment of UK citizenship very difficult indeed for those with limited or fractured educational backgrounds and limited literacy in their first language. For such people, the process of learning English is slow, and many are never able to arrive at a level of competence that would allow them to meet the above requirements. In addition, the fact that it now costs over £1200 to apply for UK naturalisation (Home Office 2017) virtually eliminates the possibility of the most vulnerable immigrant groups ever attaining UK citizenship. Knowing that they will never be able to become fully accepted as British citizens in the eyes of the law must surely have a negative impact on motivation to integrate. A further Conservative policy change in 2015 removed SQA ESOL qualifications from the Home Office list of valid indicators of a person's level of English (Gray 2015). This decision diminishes the relevance of Scottish FE ESOL programmes, most of which use SQA for accreditation, as a legitimate means of preparing ESOL learners for UK citizenship.

The recommendations made by Cantle and Crick in the early 2000s supported a broadly liberal approach to social cohesion, aiming to give immigrants the linguistic and participatory skills to allow them to communicate their needs and become actively engaged in developing a society that acknowledged and accommodated diverse cultures. Including English language and knowledge of Life in the UK among requirements for UK citizenship were designed to promote this ideal. However, the focus on civic participation and community cohesion as a potential benefit of ESOL provision appears to have disappeared from UK government policy under the Conservatives. Instead, rhetoric surrounding requirements to learn English has increasingly become focused on promoting "British values" (UK Government 2011, Cameron 2014). If we use the Emancipation

Continuum as a framework of reference, it appears that the intentions underlying settlement and naturalisation policy have moved from integration and empowerment, as was the case under New Labour, to one of assimilation and indoctrination.

Immigration, Integration and Education: The SNP Perspective

So far I have described UK-wide policies on immigration and integration. Immigration is a reserved matter, which means policy is made in Westminster. However, social policy and education are devolved to Holyrood, so it is important to examine how the Scottish National Party, which has been in government since 2007, approaches these issues. It is easy to find evidence that the SNP is in favour of increased immigration to Scotland (for example Carrell 2014, Kirkcaldy 2018), and also that it takes steps to promote equality, diversity and social justice for migrants living here (Brooks and Carrell 2016). A specific policy entitled *New Scots* (Scottish Government 2013) aims to allow asylum seekers and refugees to '...become active members of our communities with strong social relationships' (Scottish Government 2013: 6). This appears to promote an inclusive agenda, not only providing refugees with support that allows them to function within the existing constructs of society, but also allowing them to contribute actively to societal development.

It is important to bear in mind that presenting the political landscape in Scotland as different from the rest of the UK suits the SNP's pro-independence agenda. With anti-immigration and anti-European sentiment running high in the rest of the UK, it is in the SNP's interests to present itself as the pro-diversity, pro-Europe, pro-*immigration* choice for Scottish voters, in opposition to the current UK government. What is not clear, though, is just how deeply held these views are within the SNP. Back in 2008, Mooney et al argued that '...a neo-liberal vision of Scotland informs current as well as past policy' (Mooney et al 2008: 378) and predicted that, under an SNP government, '...the promotion of social justice is more than likely to take second place to the pursuit of economic growth' (ibid). Placing social justice policy within a neoliberal framework

that prioritises economic growth creates tensions, which I explore later in this chapter within the context of the Scottish FE sector.

With regard to education and education policy, Scotland's autonomy pre-dates devolution and is, according to Britton, '...one of the cultural pillars upon which significant elements of Scottish identity and prestige have been founded' (Britton 2013: 39). Recently, however, the perceived superiority of Scottish education over that of the rest of the UK has been called into question (Johnson 2016), particularly with regard to its social impact. Some unpacking of the ideological underpinnings of SNP education policy is therefore important, and will be explored in more detail throughout the rest of this chapter.

The most significant development in Scottish education in recent years has been the introduction of *Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE) across all areas of education from the ages of 3 to 18. Education Scotland recommends that education providers follow seven principles when designing programmes within the CfE framework:

- Challenge and enjoyment
- Breadth
- Progression
- Depth
- Personalisation and Choice
- Coherence
- Relevance.

(Education Scotland 2017).

These principles imply a liberal approach to education, promoting learning for its own sake with a view to allowing individuals to flourish within the society of which they are part (see Chapter 2). However, much of the empowering potential of CfE has been compromised in its implementation. Britton identifies '...underlying tensions...most notably around the issue of assessment and national qualifications' (Britton 2013: 153) as a limiting factor in the success of CfE. While the impact of CfE on the FE sector has been limited, it is relevant to make brief reference to it as it demonstrates

how the SNP favours education policy that ostensibly promotes social justice, but appears to have difficulty implementing it.

The Adult ESOL Strategy for Scotland

The Adult ESOL Strategy: An Emancipatory Policy?

Having identified an apparent desire to promote liberal values and social justice in the SNP's policies on refugee integration and CfE, I now turn to an education policy that focuses specifically on the provision of ESOL to migrants in Scotland whose first language is not English, and which therefore is highly influential in developing ESOL provision in Scotland's colleges. I have previously written at considerable length about Scotland's ESOL Strategy (Brown 2014, 2015a, 2015b and 2017a) and so, to avoid repetition, I will briefly summarise key findings from previous studies before providing a deeper analysis and a discussion of the issues raised.

Developed by a Labour-led administration and launched in 2007, the original ESOL Strategy's vision statement suggested an awareness of the societal impact of immigration. The vision stated:

That all Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision so that they can acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life: in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, Scottish society and the economy. These language skills are central to giving people a democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live. (Scottish Executive 2007: 4).

This vision demonstrates an intention to use ESOL as a vehicle for social integration *as well as* economic participation as is explicitly stated in the strategy:

[ESOL] is at the core of participation within a democratic society. Without adequate language skills, people can neither fully participate in their local and national communities nor are they given the opportunity to meet their full potential. (Scottish Executive 2007: 3).

One could infer that the above statement promotes an assimilationist

model of integration: if immigrants learn English then this literally allows them to speak the same language as the locals, enabling them to assimilate more effectively. This would make the purpose of ESOL provision, in effect, to indoctrinate immigrants. However, it is perhaps easier to identify the promotion of an integrationist model of settlement within the Adult ESOL Strategy. Its vision stresses the importance of English to immigrants, not so that they can adapt, but so they can develop the capacities to achieve success. The focus of ESOL on allowing immigrants to meet their individual needs implies that the Strategy promotes empowerment. The use of the word "participate" in the context of community engagement also implies that immigrants have some kind of input, rather than being expected to passively accept and conform. Indeed, the use of the term "democratic voice" and the desire for immigrants to make a contribution may also imply an inclusive, transformative agenda – perhaps even an emancipatory one. The potential for this is also evident in the Strategy's guiding principles, which include the recommendation that ESOL '...aids inclusion and full participation.' (Scottish Executive 2007: 8).

The question that has particular relevance to my study, then, is just how far along the emancipation continuum does the Strategy intend ESOL to go. From a critical perspective, it is perhaps logical to assume that all government policies attempt to promote or preserve hegemony, as anything else entails the relinquishing of power. However, in this case the language used in the ESOL strategy appears to advocate immigrants having a transformative impact, leading towards the removal of barriers to inclusion that cause marginalisation and cultural discord. The guiding principles of the original ESOL Strategy contain the words 'Inclusion' and 'Diversity', promoting '...provision which recognises and values the cultures of learners and the contribution that New Scots make to society' (Scottish Executive 2007: 5). This appears to go beyond liberalism and individual empowerment; it is understood that learners will contribute to society, and that this contribution will include aspects of their existing values and cultures, which society will, in return, respect, value and (presumably) incorporate into its positive development. Therefore, it is

possible, but by no means unambiguous, that these principles seek to create the conditions for a socially transformative form of emancipation.

After gaining power in 2007, the SNP government continued to support the ESOL Strategy before deciding to refresh it in 2015 as a result of ‘...social, political and economic factors [which] have impacted on ESOL provision’ (Scottish Government 2015: 3). The refreshed Strategy re-states the original vision and follows the same five guiding principles of Inclusion, Diversity, Quality, Achievement and Progression (Scottish Government 2015: 6-7). However, it also includes five new strategic objectives, three of which I list below:

- ESOL learners co-design their learning experience.
 - ESOL learners transform their lives and communities through learning choices in personal, work, family and community settings.
 - ESOL learners effectively influence strategy and policy at local and national levels.
- (Scottish Government 2015: 20-21).

Explicitly stating these objectives in the refreshed strategy implies a commitment on the part of the Scottish government not only to empower ESOL learners, but also to emancipate them by involving them directly in the transformation of society. Allowing them to be involved in curriculum design means they can ‘achieve...goals that have a positive impact on them, their families and their communities.’ (Scottish Government 2015: 21). The use of the phrase ‘transform their lives’ could relate to individual empowerment through participation in community activities, but could also signal that their involvement would allow them to have an influence that goes beyond simply participating within existing structures. There is little ambiguity in involving learners in policymaking; this objective clearly seeks to emancipate, though it appears to be limited to ESOL policy and not to government policy in general. The above additions to the refreshed Adult ESOL Strategy suggest an increasing commitment towards the emancipation of ESOL learners.

Applying Critical Discourse Analysis to the ESOL Strategy

In defining power, Foucault uses this argument:

...relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association (Foucault 1994: 31).

Taking a Foucauldian approach to policy analysis involves relating policy content to the wider political context, and identifying locations of power and how they influence certain aspects of policy. It seems reasonable to suggest that the original ESOL Strategy's focus on active participation in society is congruent with the liberal educational underpinnings of CfE, and that the refreshed Strategy appears to promote a more emancipatory role for ESOL. However, deeper analysis of the ESOL Strategy leads me to question the SNP's genuine commitment to the emancipation of ESOL learners, as I will outline below.

Foucauldian discourse analysis fits within a critical paradigm as it seeks to analyse discourse in order to expose and address issues of power, hegemony and inequality (Olssen et al 2004: 39). Taking an interpretive approach to my research entails '...a continual movement between, and reflection upon, the different stages and levels of the research' (Mulderrig 2015: 443). This recursive process has allowed me to engage ever deeper with policy literature as my dissertation has progressed, leading to a more analytical excavation of the linguistic features employed. Influenced by the work of Fairclough (1989, 2005) and inspired by Mulderrig's (2015) use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to expose New Labour's education policy as '...masking the reality of limited, contingent, and unevenly distributed agency' (Mulderrig 2015: 468), I set out to explore whether analysis of linguistic features used in the refreshed ESOL Strategy might reveal more about its underlying intentions.

Any application of critical theory in research involves:

...the *critique and transformation* of the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind, by engagement in confrontation, even conflict (Guba and Lincoln 1994" 113).

In performing a critical analysis of policy discourse, then, I sought to expose any examples within the policy that could imply its use for constraint and exploitation. The narratives presented in a policy are socially constructed, but policy discourse is also socially constructive in that it ‘...“(re)constructs” social life in processes of social change’ (Fairclough 2005: 76).

My analysis so far has established that the ESOL strategy appears to promote social justice, prioritising the development of society over the achievement of macro-economic goals that benefit the powerful; from a critical perspective it is wise to view such a policy with scepticism, as the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate. What follows, then, is a deeper analysis of the linguistic features of the refreshed ESOL Strategy, in an attempt to reveal more about its intended purpose.

Procedures Followed in Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) draws on Halliday’s theory of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1994) to establish the premise that language is used to perform specific social functions, and is therefore a form of social semiotic. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, CDA follows an ‘...explicitly emancipatory agenda’ (Mulderigg 2015: 442), concerned as it is with ‘...elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality’ (Van Dijk 1993: 250). Mulderigg (2015) stresses the value of CDA as a technique in interpretive research as follows:

In essence this approach involves a continual movement between, and critical reflection upon, the different stages of the research...Thus the social context of the data under investigation is always crucial to the interpretive process (Mulderigg 2015: 443).

This approach implies an iterative process, which I employed by analysing the linguistic features of the ESOL Strategy and then reflecting critically upon their implications within the social context that is the topic of my study, namely ESOL provision in the Scottish FE sector. In order to do this I drew on my own background in Applied Linguistics to identify specific linguistic features and to analyse the sociological functions they perform,

in terms of how the Strategy is presented and the messages it conveys. Following the critical-emancipatory agenda of CDA, I also used my knowledge of the research context to identify how these linguistic features could be used to promote or maintain inequality or injustice. In keeping with the iterative and recursive approach to data analysis advocated by Yin (2015: 186) and embedded within CDA (Mulderigg 2015), I disassembled the text and then re-assembled it by grouping examples of the same linguistic features together in order to establish their frequency. This allowed me to identify the extent to which the use of these features recurred and to establish if they were being used systematically throughout the policy document.

While most linguistic features I identified follow widely accepted principles of linguistic categorisation, some of the choices I made in the identification and categorisation process are open to interpretation, particularly with regard to connotation. For example, I have identified and grouped “dynamic verbs”, “helping verbs” and “change verbs” (see Appendix A); another researcher may choose to categorise these verbs differently. It must be borne in mind, though, that interpretive research is wary of the incontrovertible objects of empiricism, preferring rather to combine data obtained externally with the researcher’s own granularised knowledge of the research context, as explained here by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow:

...both the researcher’s prior knowledge and the embodiment of that knowledge may affect the data, whether these are interactively co-produced...or where co-production means the researcher interacting with documents and/or other physical materials (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 80).

With this in mind, I also harnessed my knowledge of the research context to identify the ways in which these functions might manifest themselves when it comes to policy implementation. It was this application of the discourse to the wider social context that allowed me to establish certain themes that emerged from my critical discourse analysis. These themes are presented below, accompanied by examples of specific linguistic structures used to convey each theme. The below analysis makes reference to examples from the Strategy document. These examples are

presented in Appendix A, with exponents coded and reassembled according to the themes below.

Theme 1: Meeting Economic Needs Also Meets Societal Needs

Neoliberalism relies on market forces rather than government intervention as the key source of regulation, as described here by Olssen et al (2004):

...a model of life supposedly played out against the backdrop of the market is all-pervasive in neoliberalism. Every social transaction is conceptualised as entrepreneurial, to be carried out purely for personal gain (Olssen et al 2004: 137).

In a world where everything is a commodity, competitiveness becomes a key feature at all levels, as individuals, organisations, nations or multinational corporations each strive to gain an advantage over their competitors. This creates the concept of the *knowledge economy*, in which education is used as a means of developing a nation's economy by building human capital (Kennedy 2012). A neoliberal education policy would therefore be expected to prioritise national economic goals over everything else. Mulderrig (2015) identifies how giving two different outcomes 'equal grammatical weighting' (Mulderrig 2015: 450) implies that these outcomes can be mutually achieved through a single course of action. The refreshed ESOL Strategy repeatedly uses equal grammatical weighting to conflate the achievement of economic goals and the welfare of society. Examples in the first section of Appendix A highlight repeated use of the adverbial phrase 'economically and socially' or the noun phrase 'society and the economy'. Indeed, any mention of the economy is almost always accompanied by an equivalent mention of society, or the achievement of goals that can benefit society or communities. More specific economic targets, such as the need for people to be employed in order to contribute to the economy, are also conflated with benefits to society, communities or individuals, as the following examples demonstrate:

Provision which supports and encourages routes into further learning, employment and in local community life (Scottish Government 2015: 7).

ESOL provision plays a vital role in...facilitating access to services, further training for work, and helping them to support their families (page 8).

These adults can make an important contribution to the economic success of Scotland (page 8).

ESOL learning has increased the confidence of learners to be able to communicate with parents and staff in their children's school, to progress onto college courses, to start new careers or find a job (page 15).

The refreshed ESOL Strategy also quotes *The Government Economic Strategy* (Scottish Government 2011a) as follows:

Increasing the opportunities for individuals is not just a strategy for improved economic performance. It is also an effective way of improving the satisfaction and security of work, promoting health and well-being of individuals and enhancing the fabric of our communities. (Scottish Government 2011a: 59, quoted in Scottish Government 2015: 8).

It is true, then, that the ESOL Strategy makes frequent mention of society and the societal benefits of ESOL, giving the impression that social justice and inclusion are key objectives. However, linking societal goals with economic goals implies that society is best served by developing the capacities for individuals to contribute to economic performance, aligning the policy with neoliberal – not progressive - ideals.

Theme 2: Meeting Individual Needs Also Meets Community Needs

The need for competitiveness in a neoliberal society necessarily places a strong emphasis on individualism. As well as equating societal benefits with the meeting of economic targets, the ESOL Strategy also conflates the needs of communities with the needs of individuals. Action that benefits individuals is frequently broadened out to imply wider benefits. This is demonstrated in the following examples, with the wider benefit highlighted to show how it is often tagged onto a list of individual benefits:

...reasons for learning...can include changes in personal life, family life, working life **and community life** (page 5).

[ESOL can help learners to] overcome changes, enhance health and well-being, reduce isolation, increase employability **and support integration** (page 5).

Learners...achieve work-related goals, study-related goals or personal goals that have a positive impact on them, their families **and their communities** (page 21).

ESOL learners transform their lives **and communities** (page 21).

As with the conflation of the economic and the social, conflating individual needs with wider needs acts as a way of legitimising *individualism for the common good*. Such a construct is indicative of a neoliberal approach to governance, in which the role of the state appears to be to ensure that we all continue to make an 'enterprise of ourselves' (Gordon 1991: 44).

Theme 3: Diminishing Government Responsibility

The idea of diminishing government responsibility is hinted at in some of the above quotes from the ESOL Strategy. Further analysis reveals more examples of how the government perceives itself and other stakeholders, and how it constructs certain power relations within its discourse. The policy rarely uses the 3rd person to refer to the Scottish Government as a single entity, linguistically separated from the nation's people. Instead, it makes frequent use of the 1st person plural to create a sense of ambiguity, as the example below demonstrates:

The Scottish government is working collaboratively to create a Scotland which is the best place to grow up, ensuring through **our** education system that **our** young people are successful learners...that **we** are working...to give every young person the best possible chance of finding a sustainable career (Scottish Government 2015: 2).

The above excerpt, with highlighting added, shows how the sentence starts with an unambiguous subject – the Scottish government – but then moves to the ambiguous pronoun "our", so it is not clear whether it refers to the government's education system or the nation's education system. The second use of "our" is also ambiguous, but appears to be more inclusive in its reference to the nation's young people. The use of 'we' then indicates a return to use of the first person to refer more exclusively to the government. This technique of using deixis to create ambivalence,

as a strategy, '...draws citizens into the very processes of governing, thus implicating them in policy decisions' (Mulderrig 2015: 455).

The ESOL Strategy makes use of other techniques to distance the government from the policymaking process, or to include others in it.

These include:

1. Use of the passive voice, allowing the agent of the action to go unnamed, for example 'ESOL provision...should be considered in all public planning' (page 20).
2. Use of a noun phrase rather than a verb phrase, allowing the agent to go unmentioned, for example 'the regionalisation of colleges' (page 13).
3. Use of alternative subjects to de-identify the government as the agent of action, even though these alternative subjects are departments within, or bodies representing or funded by, the government, or simply other government policies. Examples of these alternative subjects are 'Public services' (page 3), 'Public spending' (page 9), 'The local authority' (page 11), 'the national youth work strategy' (page 13) and 'Education Scotland' (page 23).
4. Use of alternative subjects to place responsibility for a claim on stakeholders *other than* the government. For example, 'Providers and practitioners report that...' (page 10), 'Learners and providers...reported that...' (page 15), and 'providers have seen the success of...' (page 15).
5. Frequent mention of the government working in partnership or collaboration with other organisations, such as 'We are working with schools, colleges and employers' (page 2).
6. Including the government in a list of multiple subjects, suggesting that the government is not exclusively responsible for decisions made or actions taken and is actually acting in response to the will of others. An example of this is 'The engagement process with learners, practitioners, providers and stakeholders highlighted areas for improvement' (page 20).

When identifying neoliberalism in policy discourse, Mulderrig argues that placing the focus away from the government is an illustration of

...the centripetal movement of power in contemporary governance towards an “enabling” model in which the individual assumes greater levels of responsibility for their own welfare and economic prosperity, while the government assumes a more managerial and devolved form of power. (Mulderrig 2015: 450).

The examples above, then, suggest that the SNP seeks to place responsibility for policy implementation on stakeholders other than the government – a typically neoliberal approach to policymaking (Mulderrig 2015).

Theme 4: Shared Values

There are also examples within the policy of “shared values”, where the government presents its own view as synonymous with the views of the people. This is most commonly done by presenting an incontrovertible statement as an intended or desired outcome, as the following examples illustrate:

Learning...should include the ability to communicate effectively (page 2).

Provision which is high quality, easily accessible, cost-effective and uses best practice in the teaching and learning of languages (page 7).

Every ESOL practitioner should have a relevant specialist qualification (page 20).

It is impossible not to want the above things in an ESOL strategy. By presenting the intended outcome of the strategy as a vision that the reader can only share with the writer, the policy itself becomes a means of solving a problem for the reader (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012).

There is much within the language used in the ESOL Strategy, then, that seeks to present the government’s vision as one that it shares with the reader. Again, this is a feature of neoliberal policymaking, the object of which is to ‘Create consensus over the values underpinning policy, and consent over the policy may follow’ (Mulderrig 2015: 459).

Theme 5: Shifting Responsibility Through Subject-Verb Collocation

There are other examples within the ESOL Strategy to illustrate this shift in agency away from the policymakers. An analysis of the verbs used to accompany certain agents within the policy reveals interesting results. Reference to ESOL providers or practitioners as the subjects of a sentence, for example, is frequently accompanied by dynamic verbs such as *use*, *work*, *initiate*, *seek*, and *look at*, or verbs used to describe positive change, such as *improve*, *increase*, *advance* or *develop*. Other verbs in the document that collocate with ESOL practitioners relate to helping, such as *support*, *help*, *help to avoid*, *enable* and *facilitate* (for examples of the above see the 'Providers as Agents of Change' section of Appendix A). Meanwhile, as previously mentioned, there are very few active sentences that use the government as the sole subject, indicating very little agency on the part of the government itself and an expectation instead that much of the work done to implement the policy must be carried out by ESOL providers. The role of government in actually achieving the policy's vision appears to be largely passive. Again, this feature of policy discourse may appear on the surface to be emancipatory in that it allows individuals and other agents to take on responsibility. However, as Mulderrig points out:

While [a redistribution of power] permits greater governing at a distance, it does not necessarily imply a weakening of power, simply a change in how it is applied, for example, by monitoring performance and emphasizing desired outcomes (Mulderrig 2015: 468).

This is certainly the case with regard to college ESOL provision, which relies almost entirely on either core or ring-fenced government funding, which is allocated based on colleges' ability to meet criteria set by the Scottish Funding Council through regional outcome agreements (Scottish Funding Council 2015, 2016).

Theme 6: Locations of Agency

Agency, or the capacity to take autonomous action in the achievement of goals, is an underlying theme throughout the policy. There are examples of agency being passed on to ESOL learners themselves, implying that

learners are, or are expected to be (or become), active participants in the policy implementation process. One aspect of this is the inclusion of examples of *hoped-for* agency within the Strategy – policy objectives that envision learners acting with a high degree of agency. These tend to use learners as the subject of a clause, followed by dynamic verbs (highlighted below) to describe the action they take. Several examples can be found in the strategic objectives, in which learners, as the subject of each sentence:

...**co-design** their learning experience...**transform** their lives and communities...**become** active citizens and **get involved in** their communities fostering conditions for integration...**apply** their language learning skills in wider social contexts...**effectively influence** strategy and policy at local and national levels (Scottish Government 2015: 21).

On the face of it, these objectives appear to be emancipatory in that the aim is for ESOL learners to develop a sufficient level of agency to participate in societal transformation. However, placing responsibility on individuals to improve their own functional capacities is also a feature of neoliberalism, as I have previously discussed.

The Strategy also makes certain assumptions about *pre-existing* agency among ESOL learners:

ESOL learners in Scotland have a range of skills, talents and knowledge (page 5).

Learners are also seen to be volunteering in their local communities (page 16).

...improved employment prospects is the main reason for many ESOL learners accessing ESOL provision (page 16).

...smoother referral pathways for individuals to access the right kind of learning for them (page 19).

The above sentences describe capabilities that some ESOL learners already possess, and tasks that they can, or have to, perform. There is, then, an assumption that some ESOL learners (though perhaps not all) are able to complete these tasks already. The first sentence, for example, acknowledges a 'range' of abilities, assuming that at least some learners are highly skilled, talented and knowledgeable. However, we must also

assume that other learners have, in human capital terms, much less value. This is certainly supported by evidence in a report on college ESOL provision (Education Scotland 2014) which highlights the diversity of ESOL learners. The second sentence implies that ESOL learners have the *capacity* to volunteer, but this is not necessarily the case; many of the more vulnerable migrants in Scotland rely on charities such as Migrant Help UK (Migrant Help UK 2017) for survival and are in no position to do voluntary work themselves. The third sentence implies that employability is the main reason why migrants choose to learn English. However, while employability might be an obvious instrumental purpose that many learners declare, it is important to consider that those migrants who are not currently working or seeking work – for example those with disabilities, asylum seekers (who are prohibited by law from working), women who are pressured by their husbands into not working – are perhaps among the more vulnerable migrants living in this country and therefore require their needs to be addressed more urgently. The fourth sentence assumes that learners know what ‘the right kind of learning for them’ is. This may be true of those migrants with considerable experience of education, but those with limited or poor quality educational backgrounds may be unaware of the many different types of learning that exist, let alone what works best for them.

With regard to agency then, we can conclude that the ESOL Strategy’s objectives convey a sincere desire to develop an increased sense of agency among ESOL learners in Scotland. The Strategy also assumes that migrants are already able to perform certain functions autonomously. These assumptions, and the competitive and entrepreneurial implications of individual agency, create a context that is potentially disadvantageous to the more vulnerable migrants living in Scotland, as they may lack the pre-existing agency that the policy assumes, and are also likely to have more difficulty in achieving the hoped-for agency articulated in the Strategy.

This detailed policy analysis allows us to conclude that the vision and objectives of the Refreshed ESOL Strategy certainly *imply* an emancipatory agenda, in that they state an intention not only to empower

learners within existing societal constructs, but also to involve them in the positive transformation of Scottish society. However, critical discourse analysis reveals that there is much in the policy that promotes neoliberal governance. In Chapter 1 I referred to Gillies' (2011) term 'agile bodies', in which individuals are increasingly required to become '...not merely adaptable and capable but creative and proactive' (Gillies 2011: 211). It is possible to perceive the ESOL Strategy as a means of increasing the "agility" of migrants in Scotland for the purpose of achieving economic goals, rather than having their own voices heard. This is very much the type of agency advocated in neoliberal discourse, which promotes '...a self that is a flexible bundle of skills that reflexively manages oneself as though the self was a business' (Gershon 2011: 537). The neoliberal agenda influencing college ESOL provision is further strengthened by the impact of other policies on the FE sector, as I will demonstrate in the next section.

Scottish FE Policy: Human Capital Theory in Practice

It is fair to say that the FE sector in Scotland has undergone considerable upheaval in the last few years. In 2011, a Scottish Government report concluded that '...fundamental change is needed to meet the needs of a very different Scotland' (Scottish Government 2011b: 10). This perceived need for change was driven largely by a concern that the college sector was not making a sufficiently effective contribution towards economic growth, and that this should be its main priority:

We suggest the fundamental role of further education is to provide people with the skills they need to get a job (however far they are from the labour market), keep a job, or get a better job and develop a good career. (Scottish Government 2011: 10).

While, as we have seen, CfE appears to promote liberal values, the above statement suggests that the SNP's approach to further education is quite different, adopting instead the principles of Human Capital Theory (Schultz 1961). This theory establishes a direct relationship between education and the economy. Little (2003) describes the assumptions underpinning Human Capital Theory thus:

...the skills that people acquire are a form of capital, human capital; that these are acquired through deliberate investments in education; that skills are the capacities that contribute to economic production; and that earnings in the labour market are the means by which a person's productivity is rewarded. (Little 2003: 438).

The neoliberal approach of using education to develop human capital conflicts with the liberal principles that had hitherto underpinned lifelong learning, and the Scottish Government commenced a comprehensive overhaul of the sector, starting with a major restructure of FE colleges (Griggs 2012). In most regions, colleges merged to form single, much larger institutions (MacPherson 2013), and regional outcome agreements between colleges and the Scottish Funding Council, which controls and administers government funding to the sector, aimed to ensure that colleges use their funding to meet government policy objectives. Consequently, a far sharper focus was placed on the economic impact of further education.

The influence of HCT on the FE sector was taken further through the development of a new policy document, published in 2014 and entitled *Developing the Young Workforce: Scotland's Youth Employment Strategy* (Scottish Government 2014b). Written by a commission led by the prominent Scottish businessman Sir Ian Wood, the report clearly embodied the key principles of HCT, proposing '...much more focus on providing [learners] with the skills, qualifications and vocational pathways that will lead directly to employment opportunities', which in turn would '...enhance sustainable economic growth with a skilled workforce.' (Scottish Government 2014a: 7).

The *Developing the Young Workforce* (DYW) policy document provides colleges with detailed directions, aiming '...to reduce youth unemployment by 40% by 2021.' (Scottish Government 2014b: 5). A key element is increased working ties between schools, colleges and employers, allowing education providers to meet the needs of industry more closely. Colleges are expected to focus their attention 'on full time courses designed to get people jobs' (Scottish Government 2014b: 15) with the objective of creating 'a world-class system of vocational education, in which colleges

work with schools and employers to deliver learning that is directly relevant to getting a job.' (ibid.).

At this point it must be stressed that the provision of vocational programmes to prepare young people for the workplace is by no means a new phenomenon in the college sector. Colleges have a long history of delivering training and qualifications that lead to employment in a range of industries (Field 1996). As well as meeting industry requirements, such programmes also address a social need: youth unemployment is a social problem as well as an economic one – bad for communities as much as for industry. It would therefore be cynical to suggest that the government's attempts to use FE to reduce youth unemployment are, in and of themselves, entirely motivated by the neoliberal goal of satisfying profit-oriented corporations.

However, what is new - and problematic - about the DYW strategy is the all-pervasiveness of the employability agenda. In the past, colleges delivered a wide range of programmes, including part-time programmes, many of which were delivered in the evenings and attended by mature learners, and were not necessarily aimed at improving employability or meeting economic needs (Field 2001). As a result of the DYW strategy, regional outcome agreements now encourage colleges to prioritise the educational needs of 16-24 year-olds (Scottish Government 2014b: 32), reducing the quantity of part-time provision. A new, credit-based funding model requires programmes to have clearly stated outcomes, favouring courses that lead towards accredited qualifications. Furthermore, moves to tie funding directly to student success are placing an increasing emphasis on student retention and attainment figures as a means of measuring the quality of programmes.

The Wood Commission Report reported that '...an adequate supply of STEM skills is critical to growing Scotland's key economic sectors' (Scottish Funding Council 2015). Regional outcome agreements therefore require colleges '...to ensure that there is a coherent, robust and progressive approach to developing skills and knowledge in STEM subjects' (Scottish Funding Council 2016: 15). Employability skills in

general are an increasingly important feature of FE provision. College funding is now also dependent on colleges forming:

...closer links with employers to achieve greater alignment between curriculum planning and employer demand in order to meet skills shortages and create more work placements for learners (Scottish Funding Council 2016: 22).

The above developments have had a significant impact on the nature of provision across the FE sector as a whole. An overall drop of around 152,000 students between 2008 and 2016 has been widely attributed to a sharp decrease in part-time provision (Whitaker 2016). Prioritising STEM and employability leads either to a drop in non-STEM subject provision, or the inclusion of STEM and employability content in non-STEM subject delivery – including ESOL. Such content may be useful for ESOL learners who hope to work in certain sectors, but has little relevance to many others.

Furthermore, increased pressure on colleges to use criteria such as learner attainment and retention as measures of success has led to a culture of performativity in which colleges become preoccupied with providing evidence that they are meeting policy objectives. Eventually, this preoccupation leads to more focus being placed on creating the *illusion* of meeting objectives than on actually meeting them – an activity that Ball refers to as ‘fabrication’ (Ball 2003: 225).

Problems with Human Capital Theory

In Chapter 1 I criticised neoliberal approaches to education for commodifying knowledge, educational programmes, and learners themselves, which Robeyns describes as being

...severely limiting and damaging, as it does not recognize the intrinsic importance of education, nor the personal and collective instrumental social roles of education.
(Robeyns 2006: 74).

In the context of lifelong learning, Frank Coffield provided a critique of HCT back in 1999 (Coffield 1999: 482-486). The ten criticisms he offered include its failure to acknowledge social capital or social (in)justice as

factors affecting human welfare; flaws in the validity of empirical evidence used to support it; the fact that it places responsibility on individuals, rather than employers, to ensure their own well-being, and allows employers to blame their employees' lack of education for any failures they experience; and its failure to address problems of wealth inequality and social context (e.g. gender issues) in the workplace.

Coffield's main concern though was that the application of HCT to the lifelong learning sector allows it to be used as a form of social control, forcing people to become more flexible and self-regulatory, and shifts responsibility for education and employment away from the state. I previously identified a similar abnegation of responsibility in the ESOL Strategy, but SNP policy on FE as a whole is far more open in its embracing of HCT and neoliberal policymaking.

The curriculum advocated by HCT prioritises the needs of industry over those of the learners, greatly reducing any empowering or emancipatory potential it may have. The implementation of HCT in Scottish FE policy opens the sector to the same criticism. When assessing the scope for education policy to facilitate emancipation, the limitations of Human Capital Theory are clear; if content is dictated by the needs of the economy, and if the economy is being controlled by a powerful elite, the pedagogical approach will necessarily be a banking model (Freire 1996: 54). Industry decides what students must learn, and knowledge is transmitted unidirectionally, with no scope for criticality.

Policy Implementation and Barriers to Emancipation

Although I have identified features of neoliberal policymaking in both the ESOL Strategy and DYW, the ESOL Strategy's objectives do suggest a desire for social justice to be considered in its implementation. When the two policies are applied in the same context, however, it is clear that the HCT-driven mission of the FE sector greatly inhibits any emancipatory potential that the ESOL Strategy could be said to promote. The increase in full-time programmes and the resulting reduction in part-time and non-accredited courses has further reduced the availability of accessible

college programmes for many mature learners (Field 2015), including those wishing to study ESOL. If part-time provision is not available, those migrants with barriers to learning, such as work or family commitments, are often faced with the choice of either committing to a course that is too intensive for them to reasonably cope with, or being excluded from college ESOL provision altogether.

This risk of exclusion in HCT-driven models of Lifelong Learning has also been raised by Coffield (1999), who identifies the 'moral economy' (Coffield 1999: 485) created by HCT, in which individuals with greater capacities to learn are valued more highly than those without. He notes that '...if learning is made the central organising principle of society, those with learning difficulties may well be excluded' (ibid). The risk of exclusion goes beyond those with learning difficulties though, and must also apply to those who are unable to access the learning programmes on offer *for whatever reason*. This point has further relevance to ESOL learners who, without English as a first language, are immediately at a disadvantage in a society that expects them to attain qualifications, particularly when many immigrants find that qualifications obtained in their home countries often go unrecognised, leading to '...unemployment...underemployment, ...and downward social mobility' (Guo 2014: 492).

Unlike explicitly vocational programmes, ESOL does not easily fit into the DYW model. It caters mostly for mature learners and, while ESOL could be defined as an employability skill in and of itself, it does not prepare learners for a particular area of employment in the same way as a course in Professional Cookery, for example. In order to continue to fit with the recommendations of DYW, then, colleges must find ways of adapting their ESOL programmes to comply with the broader DYW agenda. However, many ESOL learners, as mature adults living in Scotland, are either already in work or have previous work experience in their own countries, meaning they already have many of the skills that work placements aim to develop. They do not need what DYW aims to provide. What they lack, however, is the ability to use English, and they would therefore benefit more from language input than from being placed in a work environment.

Another problem with the employability agenda is that it takes the focus of ESOL away from developing learners' capacities to function in Scottish society, and the resultant societal benefits brought about through more successful inclusion. When the ESOL Strategy refers to learners' participation in 'Scottish society and the economy' (Scottish Government 2015: 6), the equal grammatical weighting implies that the two types of participation can be achieved through the same action. However, prioritising English for the workplace in the ESOL classroom necessarily means a de-prioritisation, and potential neglect, of English in other situations such as the school parents' evening, or the health centre, or the local library. Many learners in my college are already able to use English to perform their work duties; the workplace is often the *only* place outside the classroom where they actually use English. If course content focuses only on work-related language, they remain under-exposed to useful language for developing bridging or linking social capital.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored policy documents that impact on ESOL provision in Scottish FE colleges, with a view to identifying a perceived role for ESOL in the emancipation of immigrant communities. As I signalled in Chapter 3, taking an interpretive approach to the study means that any conclusions reached are a result of my own personal analysis, influenced by and filtered through my positionality in the research context. This does not diminish the value of the findings – on the contrary, bringing my own knowledge of the research context into the interpretive analysis is arguably a key strength of my study – but it must be acknowledged that the conclusions I draw are my own interpretations of the research data.

In devising this study, I developed the following research questions that focused specifically on the perceptions embedded within policy:

- Is emancipation perceived as a valid goal in policy discourse?
- Do policy documents reveal a desire for immigrants to be included in society to the extent that they are prepared for society to change

to accommodate them, or is the expectation that immigrants adapt to the normative society?

- Is ESOL perceived as a vehicle for achieving either of these objectives?

If we begin by looking at recent relevant policy that has been developed, firstly by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and then by the Conservative government in Westminster, it is relatively easy to identify a clear *anti*-immigration agenda. Legislation introduced during David Cameron's tenure as Prime Minister, followed by Theresa May's government endorsing a form of Brexit that would end free movement of people between the UK and the EU (Rayner and Swinford 2018), are geared towards reducing the flow of inward migration. Any potential for UK citizenship legislation to encourage social cohesion has been removed, and the UK Government now requires ESOL programmes to promote "British values", indoctrinating learners into existing power structures rather than promoting autonomy or empowerment, let alone emancipation. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this has a disempowering impact on any UK residents whose religion or culture involves behaviours that diverge from the norm (Hafez 2017).

In Scotland, the SNP's more positive attitude towards immigration is evident in its stated desire for more autonomy in managing immigration (Kirkcaldy 2018), as well as its intentions to promote social justice and equality of opportunity in its social integration policy. The refreshed Adult ESOL Strategy also appears to promote a socially just approach to ESOL, with objectives that *imply* a desire to emancipate. However, the Strategy also assumes that an emancipatory agenda can be achieved at the same time as meeting the nation's economic priorities, which is unlikely if economic priorities are driven by corporate interests. Furthermore, a discourse of neoliberalism runs throughout the ESOL strategy, placing the responsibility for achieving emancipation on providers and the learners themselves, rather than on the government. This transfer of responsibility does not equate with a transfer of power, however; allocation of funding and performance evaluation is still retained by the central state.

In addition, when ESOL provision is placed within the HCT-driven construct of the FE sector, the employability agenda and the focus on learners' economic contributions takes precedence over everything else. In a context driven by Human Capital Theory, which fetishizes employability and entrepreneurialism, immigrants' contributions to society are defined entirely in economic terms. Furthermore, the responsibilities placed on learners by the ESOL Strategy favour those learners who already have the skills to function within these neoliberal constructs. Colleges are incentivised to offer full-time ESOL programmes with a strong focus on employability (and, to a lesser extent, STEM), and then to recruit learners who are both able to attend full-time courses and who are most likely to be successful on such programmes. Inevitably this leads to the exclusion of learners who do not fit with this profile, who are often the most vulnerable.

It is difficult, then, to establish the SNP's ideological position with regard to emancipation. By having policies in place like the ESOL Strategy and New Scots, the Scottish Government can claim to be developing a society that facilitates the emancipation of immigrants. However, the assumption that emancipation can be achieved while at the same time addressing national economic priorities is either misguided or misleading. Earlier in this chapter I referred to Mooney et al's (2008) prediction that a neoliberal approach to governance and the prioritisation of economic goals would take precedence over the SNP's championing of social justice. This certainly appears to be the case, as it is impossible to see how the emancipatory objectives of the ESOL Strategy can possibly be achieved when they are undermined by the neoliberal undertones in the same policy, and more or less completely stifled by the HCT-influenced policies that drive the FE sector as a whole.

Chapter 5: Perceptions of ESOL Practitioners

Introduction

While the previous chapter concludes that current policy discourse is dominated by neoliberal values, stifling any emancipatory potential that ESOL could offer, policy *implementation* is bound to be affected by the interpretations and perceptions of those involved in ESOL delivery. In this chapter I describe the research I undertook to explore the perceptions of college ESOL practitioners, with regard to the emancipatory potential of ESOL. I begin by describing the procedures I followed in gathering the data, then I provide a profile of the participants based on their responses. I then focus on the coding process and describe how certain themes were established during the data analysis, before using these themes to perform an interpretive analysis and draw out some conclusions.

Research Methods, Questionnaire Design and Distribution

The questionnaire is a popular research instrument in *quantitative* research, as it is an efficient way of gathering data that can be used for statistical analysis (Fielding and Gilbert 2000: 4). Such studies assume that ‘...evidence exists independently from the research project that searches for it’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 79). This assumption implies that it is possible for the researcher to gather data that is *valid* in its ability to measure accurately the concept being studied, and *reliable* in its consistency of measurement (Fielding and Gilbert 2000: 11), and also that a hypothesis, developed by the researcher prior to conducting the study, can be confirmed or falsified by the data (ibid: 249-267).

Interpretive research, however, follows very different epistemological assumptions, as described here by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2012):

In interpretive research...the goal is not to ascertain the singular truth of the “research world” but its multiple “truths” as understood by the human actors under study (or as expressed through their various artifacts) – including the potential for conflicting and contradictory “truths”. The expectation, then, that all research designs should contain “falsifiable hypotheses” reveals a misunderstanding of the

character and purposes of interpretive research (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 82).

This means that control measures commonly used in questionnaire design, and in the analysis of findings, are subordinate to, and embedded within, the wider interpretive research methodology. The principal aim of the questionnaire in my study, therefore, was not to gather reliable and valid data for the purposes of quantitative analysis or hypothesis testing, but to explore *in high resolution* the perceptions of ESOL practitioners and then use their responses to perform an interpretive analysis.

In this connection, rather than using the terms “data collection” and “data analysis”, Schwartz-Shea and Yanow describe interpretive research as a process of *co-generation*, whereby the positionality and the contextual knowledge of the researcher are not only acknowledged, but are incorporated affirmatively and enrichingly into the data generation process:

Understanding data to be co-generated means that the character of evidence in an interpretive project cannot be understood as objectively mirroring or measuring the world. The researcher is not outside that which is under study. Moreover, in field and archival research focused on meaning-making, the “research instrument” is the researcher in his or her particularity (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 80).

It is important to stress then that in using a questionnaire in this fashion my aim was not to collect data and then analyse it objectively in order to arrive at the valid and reliable conclusions prized by quantitative enquiry, but rather it was one vital stage in the generation of data, which also incorporated my own knowledge of the research context.

In the “Focus on Practitioners” section in Chapter 3, I described the contextual limitations that led me to select a questionnaire as a means of generating data from practitioners, namely time available to participants and physical distance between me and many of the participants. The use of a questionnaire reduced the time required for participants to spend on the questionnaire and also allowed me to gather a wide spectrum of responses from across the sector; this range of perspectives was important in allowing me to explore multiple (and potentially conflicting)

perspectives before bringing my own positionality into the interpretive framework.

In Chapter 3 I also acknowledged the importance of providing participants with opportunities to expand on their responses as this would generate more data from them. In designing the questionnaire I ensured that limited-response questions were followed by ‘...open-ended questions and ask[ed] respondents for elaboration, examples etc.’ (Elliott and Timulak 2005: 150). I divided the questionnaire into four parts – Your Professional Background and Experience; Your Learners; Your Teaching Values; and Institutional Values (see Appendix B). My familiarity with the context of college ESOL provision in Scotland allowed me to devise questions and select possible responses that I knew would be relevant and relatable for the participants; this is entirely congruent with the practice of interpretive research, which accepts that ‘...both the researcher’s prior knowledge and the embodiment of that knowledge may affect the data’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 80). Although I ensured that each question included space for participants to expand on - or provide alternatives to - the limited responses presented, the inevitable impact of my positionality heightened the need for reflexivity throughout the research process; I needed to remain aware of my own biases and the preconceptions of the research topic, and then incorporate these into the data generation process itself. This reflexivity is, I hope, apparent in the “Data Generation” section below.

As well as eliciting data that revealed the participants’ subjective perceptions of the issue of emancipation and other relevant issues, the questionnaire design aimed to elicit objective data about the participants themselves, such as their current role as ESOL practitioners, their qualifications and experience, and the types of learners they generally work with. I did this because such information might prove significant with regard to how different participants responded to the questions. For example, ESOL managers may regard institutional values in a different way from ESOL lecturers, or more experienced practitioners and recently qualified practitioners may favour different pedagogical approaches. I

summarise the data related to respondents' professional background and experience in the section below entitled "The Respondents".

Once the questionnaire had been designed and ethical approval granted, I made use of existing contacts across the FE sector to distribute an online link to the questionnaire. I cannot be sure that the questionnaire reached every single practitioner, but this was not the aim, nor was it necessary to use a sample of respondents that could be legitimately generalizable. The focus of interpretive research is on '...situated, contextualised meaning-making' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 99). Responses came from a range of locations, but all respondents were situated within the context of the Scottish FE sector.

The Respondents

Before presenting the research findings, I provide here some background to the questionnaire respondents, based largely on their responses to Part 1 of the questionnaire. I received 54 responses, which constitutes an estimated 15% of college ESOL practitioners in Scotland. While representativeness or generalizability are not requirements for this study, this quantity of responses generated a large amount of data for analysis. Of the 54 respondents, 10 identified themselves as ESOL managers, and 4 identified as "other". Of those who selected "other", three described roles that related to leadership or staff development while the fourth defined their role as a classroom assistant. When categorising responses to look for patterns or themes, I grouped the classroom assistant's responses with non-promoted lecturers and the other three with ESOL managers. This meant that nearly 25% of respondents were managers, suggesting a slight over-representation of promoted staff in the dataset. A possible reason for this is that managers are more inclined to respond to questionnaires because they are more invested in the issues raised, or more interested in engaging with research, or that engaging with educational research is seen as part of their role. However, the reason could equally be something more banal, such as the fact that managers have more time outside the classroom to perform non-teaching duties, or

simply that ESOL managers are more likely to relate to me as a peer, and wanted to show support by responding to the questionnaire.

With regard to qualifications, the data shows that the respondents had a wide range of qualifications, with many holding multiple undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, certificates and diplomas - though not all qualifications were necessarily relevant to ESOL. All lecturers who responded to the questionnaire held an initial TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) qualification, and 82% also had a further qualification in TESOL, a generic teaching qualification, or both. While 25% of all respondents had a postgraduate academic qualification in TESOL or a related subject, the number was 30% among managers, suggesting that Master's level qualifications may have some value for staff wishing to work in promoted posts. Interestingly though, the level of subject-specific *professional* qualifications (as opposed to academic qualifications) was higher among lecturers than it was among managers.

Of the 13 managers in the sample, three had no professional qualification in TESOL, while one had a TESOL qualification pending. This may be attributable to practical, context-dependent factors; where ESOL is a relatively small subject area it may be combined with other subjects to form a larger department. However, it does mean that some college ESOL provision is being led by staff with little or no professional training in the teaching of ESOL.

In terms of teaching experience, more than 83% of respondents had more than 5 years' experience of working in the UK FE sector, with the majority also having experience of working in other contexts. Over three quarters of respondents had worked in the private sector, either in the UK or abroad. It is important to bear in mind that ELT is a global industry, with large numbers of private language schools providing courses in non-English speaking countries as well as the UK. It is therefore not unusual for ESOL practitioners to spend at least some of their careers working abroad, usually in the private sector but occasionally in state-funded institutions. The fact that so many ESOL practitioners have experience of working in diverse contexts, including for-profit educational institutions, and are therefore in many cases familiar with the concept of education as

a global industry in a neoliberal paradigm, may be significant in terms of how they view ESOL, ESOL provision and ESOL learners. This is something I return to in Chapter 7.

Most ESOL managers in the sample had considerable relevant experience, with 85% having more than 5 years' experience in the UK FE sector and 62% having a further 5 years' experience in other contexts. However, it is interesting to note that two of the manager respondents had less than two years' experience in the FE sector, and less than five years' experience in total. Proportionately, the number of managers with such limited experience is considerably higher than that of lecturers; 16% of managers have less than two years' experience in the FE sector compared to only 2% of lecturers. This tells us that a lack of experience or subject-specific qualifications does not preclude access to promoted positions in FE ESOL departments, and that, in some colleges, ESOL lecturing staff are being led by less experienced and less well-qualified managers.

The above, largely quantitative data is intended to contextualise the research. In the next section I describe how I used this data and subsequent responses in the other sections of the questionnaire to identify codes, patterns and themes, before demonstrating how the findings from this process uncovered certain beliefs or perceptions among ESOL practitioners regarding the role of emancipation in their praxis.

Data Generation

In order to perform effective qualitative data analysis, a common approach is to identify themes that emerge as a result of detailed analysis. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) warn against providing insufficient detail on *how* thematic analysis is conducted:

If we do not know how people went about analysing their data, or what assumptions informed their analysis, it is difficult to evaluate their research, and to compare and/or synthesise it with other studies on that topic, and it can impede other researchers carrying out related projects in the future (Braun and Clarke 2006: 7).

Bazeley (2009) is also critical of the fact that in much research ‘...the only thing said about how these data are going to be managed or analysed is that “themes will be identified in the data”’ (Bazeley 2009: 6), and that this lack of clarity can compromise the quality of the research. I therefore provide here some detail on the processes I undertook to draw themes out of the data, before presenting my findings.

Yin (2016: 186) stresses the iterative and recursive nature of data analysis, proposing five distinct phases – compiling a database, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting and concluding. I received all 54 responses via SurveyMonkey within a three-week period. After closing the survey I used tools available in the SurveyMonkey application to create pdf documents of each individual respondent’s questionnaire and a collated version of all responses. Having compiled my database, the next step was to begin disassembling and reassembling, with a view to identifying common or recurring themes. I intended to use emergent, rather than *a priori* themes, meaning that I should allow myself to “discover” themes rather than predict them. However, Bazeley (2009: 9) points out that if *a priori* themes have some value they can still be used in the analysis, as long as they are identified as such.

Yin advises that when it comes to disassembling data ‘there is no fixed routine’ (Yin 2016: 195). Rather than follow a specific method, then, I used an approach that seemed logical with regard to the data I was working with and which was also congruent with the research paradigm I was working within. I started with the collated document and looked at which closed-question responses were more or less common. I also looked at the data generated by the open-ended questions and used colour-coding to highlight responses that seemed similar. At the same time, I noted questions that these responses raised with regard to the collated data, such as “Did managers answer differently from lecturers, and if so how?” or “What level of experience does the person who gave this response have?” I then used the individual responses to add an additional “layer” to the data, and to answer the questions I had noted. These were the first steps in the coding process, the purpose of which was ‘...to begin moving methodically to a slightly higher conceptual level’ (Yin 2016: 196).

In following this process, then, I found myself questioning the data on an increasingly broad level, moving from low-level questions about who exactly said what, to investigating what concepts might underlie the responses given. Relating the data to broader concepts led towards the identification of themes, but this was by no means straightforward and I found myself repeating the process of coding, grouping, reassembling, and interpreting, and then disassembling and starting the process all over again until I was comfortable that I had established themes that would allow me to interpret the data in a way that drew out meanings most effectively.

Ultimately, I concluded that the fixed structure of the questionnaire meant that it was difficult to ignore certain overarching *a priori* themes. As Bazeley (2009: 9) points out, themes that relate directly to the questions are not emergent, but they are themes nonetheless. I therefore drew on the questionnaire content to draw out the following four themes:

1. Views on the purpose of ESOL
2. Views on integration
3. Perceptions about ESOL learners
4. Views on institutional/external values

However, within each of these overarching, *a priori* themes, I grouped responses into narrower, *emergent* themes. These emergent themes express views given by respondents, or highlight issues that they identified as important. Appendix C provides a list of the overarching and narrower themes, with examples of responses from the dataset presented according to each theme. In the next section of this chapter I refer closely to the data presented in Appendix C as I present my interpretive analysis.

Interpretation of Data: Emergent Themes

As mentioned above, the content of the questionnaire led to responses being categorised into four broad themes, within which I identified narrower, emergent sub-themes. In this section I take each theme and provide an interpretive analysis by identifying and summarising relevant data to support each of the sub-themes.

Views on the Purpose of ESOL

- *ESOL is Valued for its Societal Impact*

In response to question 6 – “What is the main purpose of ESOL provision in the Scottish FE sector?” – the most common response by far was “To facilitate learners’ ability to function more effectively in Scottish society”. None of the alternative options, which included the economic contribution of learners and the potential for learners to transform society, received many responses. Indeed, the second most popular response to this question was “something else”, which was selected by 16.67%. Those who made this selection provided alternative responses, mostly related to the next sub-theme below. One ESOL manager responded that ESOL served a dual purpose – to facilitate the economic contribution of learners *and* to facilitate integration. This comment reflects the intended purpose of the ESOL Strategy (see Chapter 4).

In Question 7, which asked practitioners to consider how much they value the impact of their practice on society, only three respondents selected “It’s not something I consider much at all”. By contrast, a quarter of respondents said that they value the impact of their practice on “Scottish society as a whole”, suggesting that ESOL plays some kind of role in societal development. Interestingly, a much higher proportion of managers (38.5%) selected this option, possibly because managers have a broader perspective on ESOL as they engage more actively with policy and are often expected to report on the impact of provision.

- *ESOL Promotes Individual Freedoms*

While a sizeable minority of responses related to the societal impact of ESOL, alternative responses to Question 6 revealed that a number of respondents were more concerned with ways in which ESOL develops learners’ capacities “...to do whatever they choose to do”, with four respondents claiming that they regard this as the main purpose of ESOL. This demonstrates a sense among some practitioners that ESOL learners should be allowed to make their own choices in terms of what they learn English for, or what they do with the English they learn. The perceived importance of learner choice may also be evident in responses to Question

9, which relates to materials used. With regard to selecting course content, one respondent stated “I always try to find time to incorporate additional materials that students have requested”, suggesting a desire to promote and develop the freedoms of learners, rather than encourage them to be passive recipients of knowledge.

- *Empowerment is Prioritised Over Emancipation*

The Emancipation Continuum in Chapter 2 makes a distinction between functioning *within* societal structures and seeking to transform society. Questionnaire responses suggest a perception that ESOL should seek to promote *functioning* rather than *transforming*. Perhaps the strongest indicator of this is mentioned above, with the dominant response to question 6 being that the purpose of ESOL is to facilitate learners’ ability to “function more effectively in Scottish society”, which received 34 responses, as opposed to the more emancipatory purpose of allowing learners to “influence and transform Scottish society”, which was selected by only four respondents. This sentiment is further supported by responses to question 7, a majority of respondents stating that they value the ways in which their practice helps their students, either in their current social context or as a means of improving their position in society. For the same question, only seven respondents prioritised the ways in which ESOL allows learners to contribute to the development of society.

- *English Language, in and of Itself, is a Valuable Skill/Reason for Learning*

When asked about the purpose and the benefits of ESOL, few respondents expressed the view that the role of ESOL is “only” to teach English; most felt that there is a wider purpose, and that English is more than just an academic subject. However, when asked about the materials used on their programmes, more than half selected “Materials published for a global market” as the most commonly used resource. Such materials have for many years been criticised for their avoidance of content that develops critical thinking and global citizenship skills (see for example Thornbury and Meddings 2001), following instead a synthetic syllabus that prioritises language over content (Nunan 1988: 159) and avoids topics that may be

controversial or challenging for some learners (Gray 2002). If such materials are the dominant source of programme content, this implies that the teaching of linguistic structures and vocabulary items is given precedence over everything else. The prioritisation of language over content is supported by the fact that 33 of the 54 respondents selected "To improve learners' grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation" as a main focus of their teaching.

- *ESOL as a Potential Source of Emancipation*

Compared to responses related to the empowering role of ESOL, there is relatively little in the dataset to suggest that practitioners regard ESOL as emancipatory. As an alternative response to question 6, one respondent proposed that the purpose of ESOL is to allow learners "...to understand and then influence the society/world around them, and English is a tool in doing this". This respondent clearly values the way in which ESOL can allow learners to participate in societal transformation. In responses to question 7, only a small number (13%) said that they valued how ESOL allows learners to make a societal contribution, though two further respondents pointed out that individual empowerment and societal emancipation are not mutually exclusive, and that both can be achieved through ESOL provision.

Views on Integration

- *Rejection of Assimilationist and Segregationist Models*

In responding to question 8, which asks respondents to give their preferred definition of integration, only five selected the option "Immigrants adapt and conform to the existing norms of the host society"; this suggests that few respondents regard ESOL as a means of promoting assimilation.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is little in the dataset to suggest that ESOL practitioners are in favour of a segregated society; only four respondents defined integration as a process whereby "Immigrants retain their values and diverse groups live side-by-side according to their own norms". Furthermore, other comments indicate a rejection of the segregated,

multiculturalist model. In providing an additional response to question 5, one respondent referred to culture shock and how it can lead to learners preferring to work with learners from the same cultural background – a reliance on bonding social capital. The implication here was that such practice is understandable, but not conducive to integration. Another respondent described their learners as “People who have been in the UK for some time (20-30 years) but remained in their language/culture ‘bubble’”, implying that this enclavised lifestyle disadvantaged them and could be overcome through ESOL provision. Another respondent commented that “...a lot of students would like to be culturally open-minded but they’re under pressure within their culture to remain closed”. This implies the view that bonding social capital leads to segregation.

- *Little Support for an Inclusive Model*

There is only one aspect of the dataset to suggest that respondents support an inclusive model of settlement, namely the responses to Question 8. For this question, a comfortable majority defined integration as the process whereby “Immigrants’ involvement in various aspects of life means their ideas and values are incorporated, so new social norms develop”. This certainly implies support for an inclusive model, though it is possible that respondents interpreted this definition as more integrationist than inclusive. Indeed, a relatively large number of respondents (ten) chose to provide alternative definitions, which implies that they did not feel the existing choices sufficiently reflected their views. Many of these alternatives were in fact modified versions of the “inclusive” definition given above, such as “retain their own values but respect and follow the norms of the host society”. The need to respect and follow the existing norms of the host society recurred across a number of these alternative definitions, with one respondent pointing out that “...these norms are enforced by the host country’s rule of law”. It is interesting that practitioners stress the importance of ESOL learners conforming to – rather than influencing – existing norms and legislation.

- *Integration as a Two-Way Process*

The majority of alternative definitions to integration provided in question 8 imply a perception that integration is a two-way process, requiring immigrants to take some steps towards adapting or modifying their behaviour in order to “fit in”, but also requiring the host society to move in some way towards accommodating immigrants’ existing norms. These comments included the following:

Immigrants adapt to various aspects of life while retaining their own particular set of values and ideas and participate in the host society. The ideas and values of both the new resident and the host society will be altered over time as a result of this participation.

I am not saying a person should ditch his/her ‘old’ culture, but rather develop the ability to be circumspect about it.

Immigrants adapt and conform to the majority of the existing norms of the host society but also contribute towards the development of that society’s norms, values and culture.

While the above definitions appear to advocate a model of integration that requires behaviour modification on both sides, any requirements placed on the host community seem to be limited to allowing immigrants to retain certain values, and selecting imported values or customs that they *choose* to incorporate. This is not the same as adapting the normative culture to accommodate the preferences of immigrants, which would be advocated in an inclusive model.

- *Practitioner Views Versus Institutional Views*

While many individual respondents value the integration of ESOL learners, less importance seems to be placed at an *institutional* level on successful integration. When asked about their institution’s main focus for ESOL, effective integration was regarded as the least important aspect, and with regard to what their institution values the most about ESOL provision, “a successfully integrated local community” was the fifth most popular response out of a possible seven (excluding the “something else” option). The option “Equality of opportunity for minority groups” was an even less popular response. This suggests that those ESOL lecturers who value

ESOL as a means of promoting inclusion, or a form of integration that is closer to the right-hand side of the Emancipation Continuum (see Chapter 2), regard their view as being at odds with that of their institution.

Perceptions about ESOL Learners

- *Diversity of Backgrounds and Needs*

When asked to describe the learners they work with, considerable emphasis was placed on diversity. Question 5 asked respondents to choose from a range of 12 adjectives to describe the learners they work with. All 12 options, many of which conflict with each other, were selected and, in addition, the respondents added ten further comments, suggesting that the options provided were insufficient. Additional comments included "heterogenius [sic]", "students vary" and "there are mixtures within classes – no specific trend can be identified". Another comment refers to EU nationals, international students and refugees all studying in the same context. It seems clear that many respondents teach classes containing students from a range of linguistic, cultural and national backgrounds, who are in the UK for multiple reasons.

- *ESOL Learners are Vulnerable/At Risk*

While all possible answers to question 5 were selected, indicating a diversity of learner backgrounds and needs, almost all respondents (98%) selected "on low income", two thirds selected "vulnerable/at risk" and 63% selected "excluded/marginalised". Additional responses to this question included "often exploited". By contrast, only three respondents chose to describe their learners as "privileged", and only four selected the term "financially secure". These responses reveal that ESOL learners, irrespective of their backgrounds, are widely regarded by practitioners as holding disadvantaged positions in society. The identification of ESOL learners as occupying lower social positions reflects the intention of increasing immigration to fill gaps in the unskilled labour market, as I discussed in the previous chapter. It is not clear whether practitioners perceive lack of English as being the main reason for their disadvantage, or if they perceive this vulnerability as a consequence of other

contributing factors, but it is clear that they are aware of the vulnerable positions that their learners are in. It is also reasonable to assume, based on previously identified themes, that they regard ESOL as potentially mitigating this positioning.

- *Diverse Learner Attitudes towards the Host Society*

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the diversity of learners, perceived attitudes towards the host society appear to conflict. Almost half of all respondents (25) described their learners as “culturally open-minded”, while almost the same number (24) described them as “culturally closed/inward-looking”. Some respondents selected both of these responses, indicating that they have some learners who show interest in other cultures while other learners, possibly in the same class, may be far less open to learning about values that are different from their own. This evokes interesting images of classes where some students are motivated by content that exposes them to alternative cultures and values, while others prefer not to discuss these topics.

One respondent described the classroom impact of these varied attitudes to culture in this way:

Cultural awareness is difficult to assess – for the purposes of learning English, from my experience, the majority of learners are able and willing to work with others in the class regardless of religious, political, social, gender differences.

It is of course important to consider how learners’ cultures affect their ability to function in a classroom, or indeed how they will affect lecturers’ choices in managing the learning environment. However, while learners may be willing to participate in tasks when assigned by the teacher, this does not necessarily mean that they will feel comfortable engaging in similar activities outside the classroom. For example, Muslim women may work with male classmates, but still feel uncomfortable interacting with men in other contexts.

A smaller number of respondents (11) described their learners as “integrated”, suggesting that a sizeable minority of learners are comfortably settled in Scotland and therefore do not need English for this reason, which of course raises the question of what they *do* need English

for – possibly for instrumental purposes such as the attainment of qualifications or career management. Of course, as discussed in Chapter 1, integration can mean different things to different people, and it is therefore difficult to make any assumptions about whether these “integrated” learners are so described because they have taken steps towards assimilation, or because society has developed in order to accommodate them, or because of something else.

- *Assumptions about ESOL Learners and Motivation/Agency*

85% of respondents chose to describe their learners as “self-motivated”, indicating a perceived strong desire among learners to succeed. This idea is supported by the use of the words “determined” and “motivated” in the additional comments section of this question. Further comments suggest that learners are instrumentally motivated by the prospect of attaining qualifications – for example: “Passing the outcomes is very important to the students” – and that motivation, wherever it comes from, is a requirement for successful language learning – “learners (sic) motivation is a key element to the process”.

However, despite many respondents describing their learners as motivated, only 18.5% selected “upwardly mobile” to describe their learners. This may mean that ESOL learners, despite high levels of motivation, still have problems in actually achieving their goals successfully. Perhaps, then, learner motivation does not necessarily lead to success, particularly when it is not accompanied by learner *agency* – a concept that emerged in the policy analysis of the previous chapter. The point that varying degrees of agency exist among learners is apparent in this comment:

EU migrants tend to be self-motivated and self-sufficient with a good understanding of how to study English...they tend to learn English quickly. On the flip-side refugees and asylum seekers don't always have the study skills or opportunities to learn English outside the classroom so they tend to learn English more slowly.

This comment shows that learners with a solid educational background and a resulting high degree of agency and autonomy are able to progress

well within the learning context offered, whereas those who lack the skills to function independently in a classroom context or take responsibility for their own learning are less likely to succeed. It is interesting to see practitioners identifying diverse degrees of agency among their learners, and a direct impact of this on learning and progress.

- *Impact of Learner Backgrounds and/or Current Situations on Classroom Practice*

As mentioned above, ESOL practitioners' perceptions of their learners are likely to impact on how they plan and manage the teaching and learning environment. A range of additional responses from respondents reveals how varied this impact is. One practitioner mentioned using learner comments as prompts for lesson content:

Tutorial sessions have led to interesting conversations about social mores, which in turn have also led to interesting class discussions.

Another response showed how learners' lives outside the classroom also impact on decisions about topic selection:

Interesting authentic materials with local and historical relevance are important for motivation of students after usually 12hr shift work in tough conditions.

One respondent suggested that the level of focus on emancipation or empowerment could be affected by the learners' level of English, and/or the time learners have spent in the country:

...the answer differs depending on which level each learner engages with ESOL classes at. In classes of lower level learners who have recently moved to the country, I would say the main purpose is to help them to settle here and function more independently but for higher level learners then influence and contribution become more important goals.

The above statement assumes, however, a correlation between level of English and length of time in the country, which is not always the case. Many migrants were able to learn English in their own countries and arrive in Scotland with a good level of competence in the language, while others may have lived in Scotland for many years but, due to segregated lifestyle

and lack of exposure to the dominant culture, have been unable to progress beyond very basic skills in English.

The above responses suggest that learners' backgrounds and current circumstances heavily influence their learning needs, and that practitioners take these into account when planning and implementing their teaching practice. However, the diversity of needs, which in many cases exist within a single classroom, suggest that it is difficult to meet the needs of all learners.

Perceptions about Institutional/External Values

- *Accredited ESOL Qualifications as a Barrier to "Actual" Teaching and Learning*

When asked to describe and comment on the level of freedom they have in choosing content and outcomes (questions 10-12), most respondents claimed to have more freedom in selecting course content than in selecting course outcomes. This is understandable, as the performative agenda described in Chapter 4 has led to colleges being encouraged in recent years to include accredited qualifications in their programmes, and the development of ESOL qualifications by the Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA) has facilitated this (Scottish Qualification Authority 2017a). Inevitably, the inclusion of pre-determined, externally-awarded outcomes adds to the prescriptive nature of the curriculum, limiting the scope for co-creation and for practitioners to address the needs of learners. Including qualifications as an instrumental purpose for ESOL programmes also runs counter to the principles of liberal education (see Chapter 2).

The impact of SQA units on teacher/student freedom was highlighted by a number of respondents:

There is limited freedom for SQA courses.

If the students are participating in SQA courses, there is very little freedom in choosing course outcomes.

Outcomes are pretty much tied to SQA. Content is then dependent on SQA assessments. When not preparing students for assessment, we can choose to do whatever the students wish us to teach them/we think would benefit them.

Students have to achieve units and depending on the units this can be more or less constraining.

The above comments demonstrate how the inclusion of accredited units limits the capacity for practitioners to make their own choices about course content and outcomes. Further responses also reveal a perception that externally-imposed outcomes prevent them from addressing the needs of their learners:

Mostly I don't have much scope as I have to get them through SQA or Cambridge exams so the materials have to be really specific.

It is a pity that so much of the ESOL course is taken up with preparing for accredited qualifications as I feel the students would benefit much more from developing essential skills for future study and work.

Other comments raise further questions, not only about the relevance of content, but also about the validity of the qualifications themselves:

The college's programme values the SQA qualification, the lecturers tend towards developing competence in communication.

I struggle with SQA for a variety of reasons. I'm not convinced that achievement of outcomes necessarily equates to competence/proficiency on the relevant areas. This is especially problematic at the lower levels.

This perception that SQA qualifications do not effectively develop communicative competence or relevant skills is heightened by the lack of any comments to *support* their inclusion. One respondent suggested that the main focus of programmes in their institution is "To develop what SQA thinks are essential skills for life, learning and work", implying that SQA's understanding of these skills does not match the *actual* skills required by learners. It would be interesting to explore exactly what it is about SQA ESOL qualifications that practitioners disapprove of, but unfortunately such an investigation is beyond the scope of this study. Responses do, however, allow us to conclude that respondents regard accredited

qualifications, and SQA qualifications in particular, as a barrier to “actual” teaching, suggesting a lack of confidence in the validity of these qualifications.

- *Concerns Related to Performativity*

In Part 4 of the questionnaire, which focuses on perceived institutional values, practitioners raise a number of concerns that relate to the issue of performativity. The practice of using measurable criteria to evaluate educational performance, which, according to Cowen, ‘...involves defining and measuring and publicising the “results” of education in quantative [sic] terms’ (Cowen 1997: 68), leads to a de-prioritisation of aspects of education that are less quantifiable, so that ‘...we laud that which can be measured and ignore what cannot be measured, even though it might be as important in the educative process.’ (Forde et al 2006: 25).

The prevalence of a performative culture in Scottish FE means that quality tends to be measured by rather crude criteria, principally *retention* (the number of students who complete a programme) and *attainment* (the number of students who pass course outcomes). Some comments suggest that the focus of programme delivery is concentrated on ensuring these particular Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) give a favourable reflection of quality. This can lead to what Ball describes as “fabrication” – the act of presenting versions of the truth that ‘...are not “outside the truth” but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts’ (Ball 2003: 224). Evidence of fabrication in ESOL programmes is implied in these comments by ESOL managers:

...the units are fixed, but some students can be unattached from the unit and their soft outcome is acknowledged.

Our main KPI problem is retention. The ones we keep, mostly pass, and we as managers make this work when it comes to performance review time.

The content is a big part of course design, but course duration, mode of delivery and timetable choices is one of our biggest factors in order to maximise Success outcomes and minimise Withdrawals.

As long as we meet credit targets we have a large degree of autonomy on content.

The above comments suggest that, in some institutions at least, managers take steps to manipulate course structure, content, or enrolment procedures, in order to “make it work”, or “meet targets”, or “maximise success” in terms of KPIs. The final comment above also implies that meeting KPI targets means ESOL programmes are less likely to face external scrutiny. These comments could be interpreted as examples of what Ball calls ‘gamesmanship’ (Ball 2003: 225), whereby educators regard the fabrication of measurable information as a kind of game that they can turn to their advantage, as well as producing “pathologies of creative compliance” (Elliott 2001: 202).

Further analysis of the dataset reveals further concerns from respondents about the impact of performativity on learners and/or learning. For Question 14, which asks respondents to identify what their institution values most from ESOL programmes, the most popular selection was “A reliable source of SFC credit funding” – chosen by 68.5% of respondents. In addition, 59% selected “A body of students that can be recruited onto other programmes” and 35% selected “Higher than average performance indicators”. These selections imply a broad perception that colleges are motivated to run ESOL programmes in order to boost numbers, gain funding and improve college KPIs. This interpretation is borne out by the fact that other, more learner- or community-oriented potential benefits of ESOL programmes, such as “A successfully integrated local community” and “Equality of opportunity for minority groups”, were only selected by around a quarter of respondents. This comment further reflects the perception that institutions take a rather calculating approach to ESOL provision:

I think we are a ‘necessary evil’ sometimes. An easy source of SFC credits at short notice and an easy way to say ‘look at our amazing diversity’.

At an institutional level, then, the performative culture in the FE sector appears to have led to a preoccupation with using ESOL programme data to reflect positively on the institution, which diminishes the level of institutional interest in *actual* benefits of ESOL programmes for learners and communities.

- *Impact of Institutionally/Externally-Imposed Values on Educational Choices*

The use of SQA ESOL units as course outcomes means that the values inherent in these units and assessments become imposed on the programmes themselves. It has already been suggested that these values are not the preferred values of practitioners, largely because they limit their ability to address learners' needs more directly. The Scottish Funding Council (SFC), which provides funding to colleges, also influences programme design, with two managers mentioning recent changes to funding requirements affecting programme content.

Bodies such as SQA and the SFC appear to influence programmes by adding layers of performativity and instrumentality. The perceived role of these organisations is to ensure that measurable outcomes are declared in advance and then achieved, as opposed to ensuring that any actual learning takes place. This is strongly indicative of the neoliberal approach to policymaking identified in the previous chapter, where responsibility to meet objectives lies with the providers, but power is still retained by these government-controlled organisations.

- *Conflicting Values*

The final sub-theme relates to apparent conflicts between values held by ESOL lecturers and those of their managers or institutions. I have already identified conflicting views on the importance of Integration (see p. 124) but it is possible to identify other conflicting values and priorities.

Regarding the use of materials, only 57% of all respondents selected published resources as their most commonly used materials compared to 100% of managers. Meanwhile, 18% of lecturers chose non-published sources as the most common materials they use. This suggests that, while managers are prescribing published materials as the principle source of content, at least some lecturers are using alternative materials – more than their managers realise. A similar mismatch exists regarding perceptions of the main focus of ESOL programmes. 46% of all respondents selected "To develop ESOL learners' employability skills" as a focus of provision, but among ESOL managers the figure was nearly 70%,

suggesting that managers value employability more highly than lecturers, and implying a greater awareness among managers of the employability agenda that dominates FE.

A further contradiction exists with regard to the purpose of ESOL. When asked to give their own view on this, the most common response was “To facilitate learners’ ability to function more effectively in Scottish society”. However, when asked about what their institutions value from ESOL programmes, only 35% selected this value, and 72% selected “To provide learners with accredited qualifications”. This suggests that ESOL practitioners highly value the societal benefits of ESOL, but feel that their institution is more concerned with attainment of qualifications which, they believe, are unlikely to facilitate integration or participation in society. Conflicting values were clearly and unambiguously expressed by two respondents:

The college values are not in keeping with my own.

I am acutely aware that what I teach, what the students want to learn, and what the college expects, are not always in sync.

This observation is certainly worth considering in the context of my study, as it appears to support my expectation that perceptions of the purpose of ESOL would vary across different stakeholder groups.

Further Interpretative Analysis

In the above section I identified *a priori* themes that derived from the questionnaire structure, and then disassembled and re-assembled responses into emergent sub-themes. In this section I analyse the themes identified above in more depth, with a view to making meaning out of the dataset that can address my research questions more directly. Defined by Yin as ‘...the craft of giving your own meaning to your findings’ (Yin 2016: 220), these interpretations are filtered through the prism of my own experiences and biases, allowing me to use my positionality as a tool to add further context and corroboration of the data (see Chapter 3).

The responses revealed themes that relate to the questions in the questionnaire, but also highlight other, wider issues that help to explain the phenomena uncovered. Yin (2016: 221-234) refers to three distinct modes of interpretation: *description*, *description plus a call for action*, and *explanation*. Within this chapter, I attempt to use the more descriptive themes from the previous section to develop an explanation of why ESOL practitioners responded to the questionnaire in the ways they did. In doing so, I re-organise the themes into four new categories, drawing on the emergence and dominance of these themes within the dataset.

Liberalism Dominates

My analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of ESOL in Chapter 2 demonstrated that current ESOL practice is largely congruent with liberal models of education, in terms of its regard for the subject matter as a source of empowerment for learners, the influence of humanism and its focus on the individual, and its promotion of autonomy. It is therefore unsurprising that such values are reflected in the responses of the practitioners who participated in my study. The impact of their praxis in helping learners to “do their own thing” – whatever that happens to be – and achieve their potential as individuals, is clearly very important to respondents. The liberal influence also explains the apparent resistance respondents showed to the instrumental purpose imposed on their programmes by the inclusion of accredited outcomes.

From a Marxist perspective though, a liberal ideology falls short of being emancipatory as it fails to address the inequalities that exist in current power structures. Comments stressing the importance of helping learners to conform to the rule of law imply a lack of desire to encourage any challenging of existing structures; if learners are expected to accept existing legislation uncritically, any scope to transform society will necessarily be limited. The paucity of responses that relate to societal transformation, the involvement of learners in community-based activism or the role of ESOL in promoting the rights of minority groups suggests that respondents, while aware of the benefits of ESOL to individuals, are

less concerned with its potential to address issues of social injustice on a structural level – including injustices that learners themselves suffer from.

ESOL Learners: Diverse Yet Vulnerable

Respondents' descriptions of their learners reveal that they are far from homogenous. This reflects existing discourse (for example Scottish Government 2015: 5) that ESOL learners come from diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, as well as varying greatly with regard to their status in the country, level of social and/or cultural capital, employment status, family situation, and aspirations as residents of Scotland.

Despite this diversity, one thing that almost all ESOL learners are perceived as having in common is the fact that they are *vulnerable*. However, the level of vulnerability they are experiencing can vary hugely; some learners are asylum seekers who risk deportation at any moment, plunging them back into the potentially life-threatening situations they escaped from, while the vulnerability of others lies in the temporary or otherwise insecure employment opportunities that are available to them. Even those immigrants in professional or relatively secure employment may be vulnerable as a result of their limited English, which reduces chances of career progression.

What is clear though is that the practitioners who responded to this questionnaire identify many ESOL learners as belonging to less privileged social groups. This perception is borne out by a number of studies that identify non-UK born employees as occupying a disproportionately high percentage of unskilled or low-skilled positions, in sectors such as food production, elementary trades, agriculture and hospitality (Scottish Government 2016). I also mentioned in Chapter 1 that the Casey Review (Casey 2016) has identified high percentages of minority groups who are economically inactive, effectively forming part of a welfare-dependent underclass. This further strengthens practitioner perceptions that ESOL learners tend to occupy vulnerable positions in society.

In many cases, diverse students with diverse needs are studying together in the same class, presenting a challenge for ESOL practitioners to meet their diverse needs. It is logical to assume that more vulnerable learners are in greater need of emancipation, but it is also often the case that the same are less able to identify and express their needs due to a lack of agency. Consequently, there is a possibility that learners with smaller voices - but in most need - are less likely to have their needs met than those who can articulate their views and needs more clearly.

Conflicting Interests

While liberalism is to the fore when they express their own views, ESOL practitioners also seem acutely aware of conflicts between their own preferred modes of practice and those of their institutions and the state-funded bodies that hold power over them, such as SQA (which monitors assessment), the SFC (which imposes conditions for funding), and Education Scotland (which evaluates overall quality of provision). While autonomy and empowerment are key priorities for practitioners, these external stakeholders appear to be more concerned with recruitment, retention and attainment. The performative gamesmanship that results from this is perceived to place requirements on practitioners that actually *diminish* their effectiveness.

This concern among practitioners relates to observations that I made in the previous chapter about the influence of neoliberalism and Human Capital Theory on FE in Scotland. When FE is regarded as a means for developing a workforce to meet the demands of the Scottish economy, this necessarily entails a prescriptive curriculum and the introduction of standardised measurable outcomes that can be understood by external stakeholders. The instrumentality that this imposes on programmes reduces their capacity to focus on the declared needs of learners, and practitioners respond negatively to this imposition. It is interesting that these instrumental requirements come from government bodies, as anything that limits the capacity for ESOL to help learners to function

effectively in society must also be a barrier to achieving the vision of the ESOL Strategy.

The Stifling of Emancipation

As I have already identified, the questionnaire responses suggest that college ESOL practitioners in Scotland value the capacities for ESOL programmes to promote a liberal ideology in education and integration. This is understandable, given the dominance of liberal ideology in current language teaching materials and methods (see Chapter 2). From a Marxist perspective though, this means that any emancipatory potential that ESOL programmes may have is unlikely to be exploited. ESOL practitioners may seek to empower individual learners to function more effectively within their current contexts, but this only increases their compliance and fails to address the inequalities within existing power structures that allow migrants to be placed in vulnerable positions in the first place.

The emancipatory potential of ESOL is stifled yet further at an institutional level. Concerns about certification and performativity reflect the influence of Human Capital Theory on the sector as a whole, and the SNP's managerial approach to governance. Colleges seem to be largely concerned with meeting guidelines and targets set by government bodies, leading to the fetishization of KPIs and the instruments used to measure them. This preoccupation with externally-imposed goals makes it more difficult to address any objectives that the learners themselves might identify, or which practitioners might identify as being useful to their learners. When control over curriculum content is imposed from above, this leads to a banking model of education and limits opportunities for a more problem-posing approach (Freire 1996: 61), and shifts ESOL further to the left of the Emancipation Continuum.

Conclusion

As with Chapter 4, I conclude this chapter by referring back to the subsidiary questions that I hoped to answer in designing my research study:

- What are the perceptions of people who teach ESOL? If current methodology is grounded in liberalism, does this mean they only seek to empower?
- Is emancipation in the form of societal transformation something that they consider as a valid goal?
- How are their perceptions reflected in their praxis?

Once again, any answers to these research questions result from my own interpretive analysis of the research data, using my own knowledge of the research context to make coherent and convincing meaning of the questionnaire responses.

Returning to the Emancipation Continuum as an analytical framework, responses to the questionnaire suggest that practitioners do indeed favour a liberal, empowering approach to ESOL, valuing the ways in which it can increase autonomy and capacities for individual learners to function effectively within the existing constructs of society. Integration is viewed broadly as a two-way process, in which migrants are offered the freedom to pursue their interests and retain their own values, but are still expected to conform to existing power structures rather than challenge them.

Emancipation in the Marxist sense, then, appears not to be recognised as a valid goal for ESOL, with the focus instead on facilitating learners' capacities to increase individual freedoms without challenging existing structural hegemony. The emancipatory potential of ESOL is necessarily limited by this lack of perceived relevance among practitioners, but is undermined further by the imposition of a neoliberal agenda in FE, which neglects any focus on social justice. Respondents to the questionnaire expressed concerns that performativity and externally-imposed outcomes compromise the empowering nature of their practice. I suggested in the previous chapter that any societal benefits of ESOL are likely to be overshadowed by economic priorities, and the questionnaire responses appear to confirm this view. Institutional values also limit the capacity for ESOL practitioners to maintain an empowering approach to their praxis, because institutional priorities push them towards a more indoctrinatory model of education.

The policy analysis in Chapter 4 suggested that, despite the emancipatory language used in the ESOL Strategy's objectives, institutional and national priorities would be largely concerned with pursuing a neoliberal agenda through a narrow, instrumental curriculum geared towards the achievement of predetermined outcomes. This concern certainly seems to exist among the respondents to my questionnaire. However, what is also apparent is that practitioners' focus on empowerment and the development of capacities for success within existing structures means that there is no expressed desire for ESOL to promote emancipation or challenge existing norms in any way. I explore possible reasons for this in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: Perceptions of ESOL Learners

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I explored perceptions in policy and among ESOL practitioners with regard to the emancipatory potential of ESOL in the Scottish FE sector. Both chapters identified factors that limit the scope for college ESOL programmes to emancipate migrants, most notably the neoliberal agenda dominating FE sector policy, and an apparent preference among practitioners for ESOL to empower individual learners *without* challenging existing power structures.

This chapter focuses on ESOL learners themselves, and uses data gathered through a series of interviews to explore learners' perceptions of how, or whether, their ESOL programme might act as a source of emancipation, giving them the potential to engage critically with social issues and injustices. My overview of the research methodology in Chapter 3 included a rationale for selecting interviews as the instrument for data collection and the use of interpretive techniques to perform a thematic analysis. Descriptions of data collection and analysis in this chapter, therefore, relate to the *procedural* aspects of the study, which I used to develop emergent themes.

I will start this chapter by providing some context, with a description of the course on which the learners were studying, and of the participants themselves. After a brief description of the data collection process, I move on to analyse participant responses by coding the data and re-assembling it according to emergent themes. After this I broaden the findings out to establish three overarching themes that exist across the whole dataset, from which I interpret meaning and draw conclusions about the participants' responses and how they relate to my research questions.

Research Context and Design

The Learning Context

The learners who took part in this phase of the study were all students on an ESOL course that I delivered in a further education college in the west of Scotland between 17th October 2016 and 31st March 2017. This was a part-time course, with classes taking place on three mornings per week for 20 weeks, comprising 180 hours of class contact. The course is aimed at students who can use, or who are developing the skills to use, English at Level 4 on the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF 2017). Interviews were conducted between 27th January and 1st March 2017, by which time all participants had successfully completed at least one SQA-accredited unit at this level.

The principal intended course outcome was the SQA National 4 Group Award in ESOL, which comprises three units: *ESOL for Everyday Life*, *ESOL in Context* and the *ESOL Assignment* (Scottish Qualification Authority 2012a). Each of these units requires learners to demonstrate their ability to use English to perform specific tasks. In addition to these externally accredited units, a college unit entitled *Intermediate Grammar in Action* is also attached to this course. This unit, also levelled at SCQF 4, requires learners to use specific linguistic structures and is assessed formatively as the course progresses. The inclusion of these predetermined outcomes dictated a large proportion of the programme content – previously identified as a concern among ESOL practitioners as these outcomes may not address learner needs (see Chapter 5).

The Participants

All participants were selected from the same class, meaning they had similar experiences of college ESOL provision upon which to base their perceptions. Furthermore, they had also undergone the same initial assessment procedures, which established that their overall English was appropriate to study at SCQF Level 4. Of course, this does not mean that all participants had exactly the same capacity to use English; each had their own individual strengths and weaknesses in terms of specific

knowledge and linguistic skills. It is safe to assume though that, at the time when the interviews took place, all participants were capable of using and understanding spoken English at SCQF Level 4, equivalent to Level B1 on the Council of Europe Framework of Reference (Erasmus University Rotterdam 2017) as they had all completed a unit at this level. However, using English to conduct the interviews does raise some issues, which I discuss in the “English as the Medium of Communication” section below.

Despite all being immigrants to Scotland with similar levels of English, the sample of students in the dataset is very diverse in many ways. Many participants chose a part-time course to fit into other commitments like work or family responsibilities, or because, as registered jobseekers, they are not allowed to study full-time. However, some participants had originally applied to study full-time but no places were available. It should be borne in mind then that motivation for study, level of commitment and ability to devote time to studying outside the college varied considerably between participants. Differences in age, gender, nationality, first language, educational background, status in the UK, employment status and family circumstances also existed within the group. It is therefore likely that the ways in which these different factors intersect to form the identities of individual students would impact greatly on their experience as ESOL learners, including motivation, learning needs and capacity for making progress.

As revealed by the data analysed in Chapter 5, diversity in the ESOL classroom is commonplace across Scotland, and the sample reflects this. Rather than making any assumptions about the representativeness of any responses, each participant was regarded as having an individual identity, in order to:

...investigate the complex entanglements between interpersonal experiences of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity and, ability, and how they relate to larger systems of power, oppression and social privilege (Hill Collins and Bilge 2016: 114).

Appendix E contains individual profiles of each participant, and can be used for reference to accompany my analysis of their responses throughout this chapter. Information contained in these profiles is taken

partly from comments made in the interviews but also includes information I learned about the participants in the process of working with them in the classroom. All of this information was acquired ethically.

English as the Medium of Communication

There was a risk that conducting the interviews in English could undermine the accuracy of the data, either because participants may not fully understand the questions or because they may have difficulty in fully articulating their responses, or both (de Zulueta 1990). A possible alternative approach is to use interpreters, as recommended by Cooke (2006: 71). However, finite resources meant that this would limit the diversity of participants that could be used. I wanted the study to include learners from multiple backgrounds and, of the ten participants I interviewed, only two shared the same first language. As it would have been impossible to find interpreters for nine different languages, I would have been forced to select a more linguistically homogenous group of participants, and I did not wish to narrow the scope of the study in this way. Furthermore, Murray and Wynne (2001), who used interpreters in a research study, concede that this brings its own problems, as it is '...impossible for interpreters to provide exact, unequivocal translations of a person's dialogue, especially in a dynamic interview' (Murray and Wynne 2001: 17).

As mentioned above, all learners had already achieved a unit at Level B1 on the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR), which meant that they were able to '...enter unprepared into conversation on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life' (Erasmus University Rotterdam 2017). While some questions would need to be reformulated, and while participants might struggle to fully express their views in English, selecting participants from a group with this minimum level of English mitigated against some of the potential risks surrounding the language issue, while at the same time ensuring that the research model was practicable and the sample of participants diverse.

Positionality, Power Dynamics and Researcher-Participant Interaction

Chapter 3 covers the broader issues regarding *my* positionality in the research context, so here I mention only briefly the need to acknowledge the power relationships between the participants and myself, and factor it into the interpretive process, as it appeared to affect the nature of some responses. The full interview transcriptions (see Appendix G) contain examples of participants responding in ways that may not actually reflect their realities, but which reveal behaviours influenced by the power dynamic of the interview: responses that participants think I want to hear; responses concealing personal information that they are reluctant to reveal; and examples of sycophancy where participants speak effusively about me or the college.

It is important to consider the impact of power relations and not simply accept every response at face value. In my role as researcher, and particularly when analysing the data, I had to make judgement calls about what data might be influenced by power relations, and to consider how that influence would affect its potential for inclusion and analysis within the dataset. This is part of the interpretive process, as Burbules et al (2015) point out that

The processes of organizing data, identifying what is important and worth paying attention to, selecting what will be reported, and trying to make sense of it all through some appropriate form of analysis or argument all entail interpretive judgments (Burbules et al (2015: 4).

It is also important to stress that my position as an English language teacher, and the resulting relationship I had with the interview participants as their teacher, undoubtedly affected the way the interviews were conducted. While different interpretations of Communicative Language Teaching exist, one view, expressed by Howatt (1984) below, is that ...language is acquired through communication, so that it is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge of the language, but of stimulating the development of the language system itself. [This approach] entails “using English to learn it” (Howatt 1984: 279).

The nature of the interaction between the participants and myself in

Appendix G reflects attempts by me to facilitate this use of English as part of the learning process. There are several instances where I reformulate or elaborate on statements made by the participants, repeating what *I understand* them to have said but using linguistic structures or lexis that they did not use. To the reader, such interaction patterns may be vulnerable to the impression that I am putting words in the learners' mouths, shaping the direction of the interview or influencing their responses.

However, these reformulation techniques are commonly used by language teachers for a number of reasons. First of all, they serve to clarify meaning by allowing the learner to confirm that what has been understood is indeed what they intended to say. Negotiation of meaning (Hedge 2000: 13-14) is an integral component of ESOL classroom interaction, so strategies for clarifying understanding are commonplace and expected. Secondly, reformulation is a common correction strategy (Harmer 2001: 106-107), allowing learners to hear an accurate model of the utterance that they wished to make. A further reason why language teachers reformulate learner utterances is to provide examples of *comprehensible input* (Krashen 2003: 4), maximizing the context to expose learners to language that they are able to understand receptively but which is not yet part of their productive vocabulary.

The interaction patterns between me and the learners, then, may appear at times to be rather heavily controlled by me, but this is a result of the dynamic that existed between us at the time of the interviews, and is indicative of the types of exchanges that were commonplace in the classroom. What may seem unnatural to the reader was in fact entirely natural given the context and the relationships that existed between researcher and participant. If I had modified the way in which I engaged with the learners, this may have affected the dynamic and inhibited their ability to speak freely. Also, the fact that most participants were challenged linguistically to express their ideas meant that my reformulation of some utterances was necessary to ensure their points were articulated clearly and accurately. Furthermore, there were

occasions where the participants asked for clarification or correction during the interviews; it would have been unethical for me to refuse to provide this.

Transcription

Full transcriptions of all 10 interviews are presented in Appendix G, but here I provide some brief notes on how I transcribed the data. While the participants were able to convey meaning throughout their interviews, there are many grammatical errors in their use of English. To ensure that their own voices were accurately represented, I included these in the transcription. Occasionally this makes meaning unclear to the reader, though in most cases I asked learners to reformulate their responses if I was unable to follow what they were saying, or alternatively I asked follow-up questions or reformulated statements myself to clarify understanding.

I used other techniques in the transcription to indicate specific features of the discussions. Occasional words were unclear, which I replaced with ??, and any non-verbal features, such as laughs or gestures, are included in parentheses. I also used square brackets - [] – to provide additional clarifying comments. While I did not attempt to correct grammar, I did use punctuation as a tool for clarifying (but not distorting) meaning. This means that some punctuation features, such as commas and full stops, do not always coincide with pauses in speech, but they do contribute to the comprehensibility of the transcriptions without altering what the participants actually said.

Data Collection and Analysis

The interviews produced a dataset of over 50,000 words - a huge resource that could theoretically be analysed in many ways and for many purposes. I encouraged participants to express their views during the interview process, and interpretive research relies on participants expressing realities as they see them. However, it was also important to ensure that my analysis remained focused on the research questions. Some of the data generated is interesting but not relevant to the specific

questions I wanted to explore. I describe here the disassembling and reassembling processes that I used to allow perceptions to emerge, and then to review and refine the themes until they revealed issues that related directly to the research topic.

While the process of conducting interviews is very different from the process of devising and distributing a questionnaire, once the data had been collected I followed very similar steps to those described in the previous chapter. One difference though, which resulted from the loose interview structure, was that the existence of any *a priori* themes (Bazeley 2009) was far less evident than in the questionnaire responses. Rather than starting with broad themes that exactly matched those of the questions, I allowed three slightly different themes to emerge: *The Integration Process*; *Diversity, Empowerment and Emancipation*; and *The Role of ESOL*. Within these three broad themes, I continued to study, disassemble and reassemble the data to arrive at a total of 13 grounded codes that emerged across the dataset as a whole. I used colour-coding to identify examples that related to each of these (see Appendix G). The recursive analytical process then allowed me to merge and re-define these codes to arrive at a total of nine new themes, which focus directly on the research topic. I present these themes below, supported by quotes and page references to the transcriptions in Appendix G.

Emergent Themes

The Integration Process

Within the broad theme of The Integration Process I finally arrived at four narrower themes that recurred across several interviews, or were discussed at some length by one or more participants. Below I summarise the points made by the participants, using quotes to illustrate the key issues as they saw them.

- Immigrants' Attitudes and Approaches

When describing what facilitates the integration process, most participants were positive about support provided through bonding social capital, particularly on first arriving in the country. Agnieszka (pp. 326-327) and

Christina (pp.363-364) both spoke about the practical help they received from co-nationals who were already living in Scotland. Other participants like Jeet, Nuha and Omar already had family living in Scotland, who could help them in their initial orientation and ongoing settlement.

For Hamid, whose asylum application had been refused by the time he moved to Glasgow, reliance on bonding social capital was vital to his survival:

I came to Glasgow 2008, after January. I came to Glasgow then. I had, I have some friends here. So I lived with them, in their house, in their flats.

Although Hamid had been living in the UK for some time by this stage, and therefore did not require so much support in terms of practical information, his status meant that he was unable to receive financial support from official sources and therefore had no choice but to make use of friends and contacts from his own cultural background. He did not speak about this period positively, and it was clear that he would have preferred not to have to rely on co-nationals for this kind of support.

Depending on their nationalities, the size of co-national networks that participants can use as a source of bonding social capital varied considerably. Nuha mentioned a small and disparate network of Sudanese nationals in Glasgow that can provide useful information for people when they first arrive there (p. 355), whereas Omar, Jeet, Yasmina and Agnieszka all have large co-national communities living in the local area. Jeet, who is Italian but whose family is originally from India, pointed out that it is possible to move to Scotland and continue to live according to Indian cultural norms and values:

Steve: ...it seems from what you're saying, it's maybe possible for somebody to come here from the Punjab...

Jeet: To find easily...

S: ...to come to Scotland, and they don't need to change their life very much?

J: Yeah, it's just about the weather...you have all the things you need.

Omar acknowledged the benefits of bonding social capital when immigrants first arrive, but also suggested that it is useful to start developing bridging social capital:

O: So I think first you need to prefer your own community which knows English so he can tell you what he's saying, and what are you saying. And after some time you learn and you can do by yourself.

S: I see. OK so first you can use your local community for some support, until...

O: ...and then you can go for a bigger community.

Most respondents, then, spoke positively about bonding social capital on first arrival in Scotland, but were less positive about immigrants continuing to live within their own communities over a long period of time. Several participants spoke about the problems or dangers that can arise if immigrants do not attempt to engage with their new environment. Jeet and Omar described how remaining ignorant of the dominant culture can create bad feelings or a lack of productive communication between communities:

J: [Immigrants who stay in their own communities] can't understand what are doing other peoples and they can judge. It's about judgement.

O: ...if you go just on your own community, just a part of your own community you are not a part of Scottish...

S: And is that a bad thing then?

O: Yeah it's a bad thing. Because the Scottish people are more friendly, they cannot ask you, no know we are not like, they are like to you. But if you don't talk so he cannot know you. If he not know you he don't like, maybe.

Belem spoke about the dangers of 'ghettoes', and also mentioned a moral obligation on the part of immigrants to take some steps towards integration:

B: ...it's good to maintain your own roots and everything because it's part of your life but you, you have to, not to be isolated and, well, try to understand that it's another country, another way of think.

Agnieszka even raised the potential for social unrest:

A: Eh, if people who came here it's closed to the group in culture and they are closed and not open for another people, another culture, this is bad.

S: OK.

A: ...because they are the small group, they are maybe fighting in the future. You know what I mean.

S: OK so they might get isolated or segregated..?

A: yeah segregated, yeah. This is the bad.

It appears then that bonding social capital, according to the participants, provides a useful support network when it is needed, mostly on arrival. However, there are also concerns, even fears, about the potential consequences of remaining within one's own cultural group. The balancing act of retaining one's own culture without becoming segregated from mainstream society was highlighted by a number of the participants.

- Local Attitudes Towards Immigration

The participants were almost universally positive about Scotland and Scottish people in terms of their attitudes towards immigrants. The most commonly used words to describe Scottish people were "friendly", "helpful" and "open-minded". Ugur was particularly effusive about the people here, especially with regard to the lack of racism he has experienced compared to other countries (p. 301). Belem expressed surprise at the number of invitations to people's homes that she and her family had received, and how this made her feel like she was part of the community (p. 340): Agnieszka also described how Scottish people show an interest in her, and where she comes from (p. 327). Hamid feels he has sufficiently close friends that he can call on them if he needs help:

H: Even I need anything – a letter, a reference for home office – I know they do straight away.

S: Right, OK.

H: Anything I want they never say no to me. That's mean I have, that's mean I'm involved...

Positive attitudes from local communities were clearly very important to the participants, but they also gave examples of more formal mechanisms that facilitate integration, such as access to healthcare, opportunities for community participation and the promotion of minority languages:

Nuha: Eh, I have everything, yeah. Because I'm waiting for my baby. Because I get a lot of support from Royal Infirmary.

Belem: I feel really welcome, welcome? Because I found a lot of places to go, and feel integrated, to have classes of English, in libraries...I think it's easy, it's easy for the people, for the foreign people.....And I think I'm lucky because in Spain I don't have this possibility.

Omar: ...when I go to school, there are lot of languages written – English, Urdu, Arabic, Indian and other, and also I go last time with my Dad to the police station. I also saw the other languages written on the wall of the police station so they also encourage to you, to come and you can learn.

Hamid, whose failed asylum application means he perhaps has the strongest reasons to feel aggrieved about how his host country has treated him, still felt positively about the people and the country. Like the other participants, he stressed the importance of being made to feel welcome on arrival:

H: This is, the important thing is welcome – it's enough for people.

S: Right.

H: When you said, when I come to your house, and you told me "Welcome", that's mean you're happy. It doesn't mean you're unhappy.

However, there was also some acknowledgement that not everyone in Scotland has the same positive attitude towards immigrants. Nuha's perception was that some Scottish people, while not necessarily antagonistic, are afraid of her:

N: Unfortunately I didn't get help from neighbours. I didn't know any Scottish, just you.

S: Really?

N: Yeah.

S: OK...

N: I don't know why. Maybe it's...don't know...but I hope that to know Scottish people.

S: Yeah. Is, is that, is your experience kind of normal for Sudanese women here, that you don't really mix with Scottish people?

N: It's not normal. Everybody is scared about you, I don't know why. Mmm, something not good.

Yasmina was also aware of some negative attitudes from a minority of Scottish people – “5% or something” – towards immigrants and minority groups.

- Roles and Responsibilities in the Integration Process

While perceived attitudes towards immigrants were for the most part positive, the participants did identify some aspects of the integration process that they felt should change. Hamid stressed the need for the government to allow immigrants to *start* building new lives for themselves, after which they can become self-sufficient. Giving permission to work may, in his view, may be all that is required:

H: So government is responsible first to provide something for you. House and money, like weekly money or a house. Or, give me piece of paper to work, I don't need money, I don't need house – give to someone else who disabled...

The right to work is clearly important to Hamid who, as a failed asylum seeker, does not have this right. This clearly frustrates him:

H: I'm a person who very active. Don't make me unactive, don't make me more stressed....[if] some person is stressed, more stressed, he start do bad things.

Phailin, for her part, felt aggrieved that refugees and asylum seekers are given more support than her, despite the fact that she is married to a Scotsman:⁴

P: They can go free school things like that. But my family, my husband is British, my kids British. Why is, we have to pay a lot like that, you know what I mean?

Despite these suggested changes in legislation, it is interesting to note that most participants felt that it was largely up to immigrants themselves to adapt to their new surroundings. This belief seems to stem from a perception that they are *guests* in this country, that Scotland is doing them a favour by allowing them to live here, and that they must therefore adopt existing norms. This sentiment was expressed most fully by Hamid:

H: ...when I come to your house it's not my rule. It's your rule, your house. So you can tell me "Go to the front room, sleep"... And you can pick the living room for me to sleep or you can tell me go out...you can give me a rule, I cannot, I cannot choose what I want, in the beginning. After that, when we know each other good, when I know...when I learn the rules...but the responsibility first you taught me...I like you take my hand and you teach me something. After that, when you teach me all of this, when you spent all this time - if any mistakes, I'm responsible.

Indeed, most participants seemed to feel that it is right for immigrants to conform to existing rules and expectations:

Jeet: So, I think you have to be really open-minded.

S: Right.

J: If you are going in another pays [country] you have to learn.

S: Do you think that Scottish people have some kind of responsibility to maybe reach out and make it a bit easier for you?

Belem: No I don't think so because you have your own system and, well, I think that when a person moves and becomes an immigrant, you need to learn the things, how the things goes in this country so...

⁴ Phailin lived with her Scottish husband in Saudi Arabia for many years, and their children grew up there. Her children have now moved to Scotland but, because the family has lived outside the UK in recent years, they are classed as fee-paying international students.

S: OK

B: Yeah. No I don't think that the government or the system has to change for you, you need to learn how things works here.

Phailin: Scotland no need to change, Scotland no need to change, Scottish people don't need to change anything. But there are people who are come here need to change themselves.

While a clear perception existed that immigrants need to adapt in order to facilitate their own integration, rather than Scotland adapting to accommodate them, the participants appeared to stop short of advocating a fully assimilationist model. Phailin still wanted Scottish people to accept her as being different from them:

Phailin: They have to accept that you are with other people, know what I mean? That's what I do, I accept that I'm with them. But I expect they are the same with me.

Agnieszka also felt strongly about the importance of retaining identity:

A: I don't want to changed, I want to be the Polish (laughs) so this is the natural I think...the culture is very important but it's not what I'm saying that I want to, the one culture, No no no. The everybody save the culture, the Polish culture or different countries.

Jeet observed how members of the Indian community appear to have assimilated when they mix with the host culture but, in the home "they're practising their culture". This implies that members of her community prefer not to assimilate, but also that they are somehow inhibited from practising their culture openly. This is not indicative of a truly inclusive society.

Agnieszka acknowledged that the cultural differences between her home country of Poland and Scotland are not particularly great, but she also observed that the integration process could be harder for people from other cultures:

A: I think that will be more difficult because if the difference they are more, um, idea more different eh maybe it's the more difficult for those people who came to other countries.

- Importance of Mutual Respect/Understanding of Differences

Whether the onus lies mainly on immigrants to adapt to their new environment, or on the host society to accommodate New Scots, a common and recurring theme throughout the interviews was a need for mutual respect and tolerance between immigrants and the host society. Both Jeet and Ugur used the word "respect", while Omar stressed the "need to understand" and Yasmina spoke of "give and take". Agnieszka and Jeet used the phrase "open mind" when describing what is required for integration to work effectively, and Belem spoke very positively about social projects designed to facilitate community cohesion, particularly because they foster positive attitudes on both sides:

B: And I think it's really clever because if you are living here you are part of this community, you need to, to be, gentle and if you are gentle with the place and people of the country, they are gentle with you and there's less problems.

Hamid spoke of his own experiences to describe how minority values do not impact negatively on his relationships with Scottish people:

H: ...the people who I know who's going to pub, they never forcing me to taking to the pub. The people who he know me, I never force them to come to the mosque. But that's good things.

It is perhaps understandable, then, that if the participants felt a requirement to try to understand, respect and function within the existing structures of Scottish society, they also expect that Scottish people should show some respect to them and their cultures in return. Broadly speaking, all participants expressed satisfaction that they are given a sufficient level of respect within the host society, and there was no mention of participants being prevented from practising their own culture and living according to their own values. However, the recognition that they, as immigrants, must adapt to Scottish life, opens up the possibility for their own cultures to become eroded.

Diversity, Empowerment and Emancipation

- Attitudes Towards Diversity

Unsurprisingly, given the questions asked, much was said in the interviews that focused on the theme of diversity. Some participants, such as Agnieszka, had come from relatively monocultural societies and were experiencing diversity for the first time, while others like Belem and Nuha were having their first experience of being part of a minority cultural group. Ugur, Phailin and Jeet had experience of being part of a minority immigrant group in a different foreign country, and therefore had a reference point to relate to their Scottish experience. Hamid had moved to the UK precisely because he was a member of an oppressed minority group in his own country.

Despite their varied backgrounds, though, most participants were positive about the impact of diversity on Scotland. Both Jeet and Agnieszka mentioned shops selling food or clothes from their culture, or how words from their languages are finding their way into the vocabulary of Scottish people. They both spoke positively about these developments, not only because they made them feel more included, but also because it was good for Scottish people to be exposed to new ideas. Jeet felt strongly that diversity can strengthen society by increasing the population's knowledge base and cultural capital, allowing for new innovations and cultural norms to develop:

J: We mix the ideas, I told you, have innovation, something new.

S: OK so it's kind of like a fusion...

J: Yeah!

S: A cultural fusion, a cultural mix.

J: That's really good.

Omar suggested that the existence of an established Muslim minority in Scotland has led to Scottish people having a more positive and tolerant attitude towards Islam and Muslims in general:

O: I gave you before the example, yesterday's example [protest against the USA's "anti-Muslim travel ban"], this is a positive. If it was negative, nobody goes there.

S: That's true. And...if there were no Muslims in Scotland maybe we would not be so supportive.

O: ...supportive. Because we are communicate and they can share ideas in a bigger place so they can spoke to each other.

- Individual Empowerment in a Diverse Society

Some participants spoke about the potential for self-empowerment as a reason for coming to Scotland in the first place. When asked to consider people's motivations for coming here, Jeet bluntly stated "It's about money". Agnieszka also spoke about the economic advantages of moving to Scotland:

A: Here if I've got the basic salary I can buy more and I can live in myself in my home.

Interestingly, Agnieszka, who has a postgraduate degree from a Polish university but is working as a receptionist, seemed quite happy to do a job for which she is over-qualified, as long as the salary was sufficient to allow her to live independently.

A number of participants expressed a need for greater empowerment to facilitate their long-term settlement here. Some spoke of action they have taken themselves to facilitate this. Both Christina and Belem spoke about the empowering impact of doing voluntary work, which allows them to make connections with other people. Agnieszka and Jeet were both in paid employment, and the increased independence and autonomy that this provides was clearly empowering for them. Nuha identified the prospect of using her existing skills in future employment – paid or otherwise – as potentially empowering. Conversely, the lack of opportunity to work was a problem for Hamid, and something he found to be *disempowering* (p. 393).

Participants also spoke about the empowering impact of other activities. Jeet, for example, spoke about the benefits of participating in Scottish cultural events (p. 283). Yasmina spoke about the need to become empowered through confidence-building:

Y: Yeah because first of all I need to take away my shyness, that's the first thing.

S: OK.

Y: I don't have any confidence in anything you know! I need to concentrate...

Nuha commented positively on the financial support that she received from the government, but it was clear that she did not find her current situation, in which she relies on benefits, empowering. When discussing their own situations in Scotland, it was clear that the participants' individual circumstances had a big impact on how empowered they felt; some had jobs and were financially independent while others relied on the state for financial support; some had reasonably well-established social networks while others had only a limited circle of friends. However, having a job and being able to participate in social activities seemed to be key factors in allowing the participants to feel more empowered as members of Scottish society.

In addition to talking about their own individual empowerment, the participants were asked to consider how their empowerment could impact on society. Jeet spoke about the economic benefits to Scotland that come from empowering the immigrant population through employment and the payment of tax (p. 285). Christina felt that other examples of empowering action, such as voluntary work, could also have a positive economic impact:

C: Because everything goes for the economic. For example the volunteer is economic, because they work without pay, but they are working and they contribute for the economic.

Participants who are not currently working, such as Nuha, saw future employment not only as a means of individual empowerment, but also as an opportunity to make a positive contribution to Scottish society:

S: When you start looking for a job, do you think that you can... do you think you can make Scotland a better place?

Nuha : (Laughs) Maybe. Maybe. I can contribute to society for what I have. I can do my best.

Phailin appeared to have given careful consideration to how her own empowerment might benefit Scottish society:

P: And I want to open a school. Like a cooking class.

S: To train people.

P: Yeah. To train a lot the young people to have a job, got a chef it be easier to get a job, know what I mean?

S: Yeah, absolutely.

P: Yeah not just come here and take take. Everywhere I go I like to give...

S: Give something back.

P: Yeah! Give something back to where you go, you know? You come here, you give something back to the here, to the, you know. You come to Scotland you give something back to Scotland people.

Phailin's comments imply a belief that her own empowerment can lead to her making more than a purely economic contribution; she feels she has the potential to empower others and make an impact on society.

Responses from other participants suggest that they share this view:

Hamid: When someone, or some people, or the country, who been good to me, I would like to pay back something. Even I cannot pay by money...even I cannot pay back something big, but I still can pay back by good manner.

Belem spoke of the potential positive societal impact that can result from helping people to "...know that you have the possibility that you can help or share or participate...". Ugur also mentioned how increased individual empowerment and social engagement can influence the behaviour of others in a positive way:

U: ...you need to show your respect, you need to help them. And if you start to help them...the people gonna help the other people.

Yasmina, on the other hand, referred to her own poor educational background and rather sheltered life since arriving in Scotland as contributors to the relatively disempowering situation she now finds herself in. She would like to make more of a contribution, but realised that she may not be fully aware of all the issues, meaning she lacked confidence to speak out:

Y: I don't know the good way or bad way of thinking you know? I don't know. So I'm silent. I'm thinking in my mind you know? Only in myself.

Like Hamid and Ugur, Yasmina felt she had the potential to contribute to society – not necessarily economically but in other ways – but at the time of the interview she did not feel sufficiently empowered in terms of her linguistic or critical thinking skills to be able to make this contribution effectively.

- Emancipation as a Socially Transformative Act

While the participants made several comments related to the potential benefits of individual empowerment on wider society, there was very little direct mention of emancipation as a *social* phenomenon, or the idea that societal development is a project in which immigrants can get involved. Hamid felt that his contributions to society are largely motivated by a sense of loyalty to, or empathy with, the Scottish people. Agnieszka acknowledged the potential for immigrants to make Scotland a better place, but advised that this potential depends on the “right kind” of immigration:

S: Can immigrants help to make Scotland a better place, in your opinion?

A: I think (laughs), but we will see. It’s dependent which people came here.

S: Oh! OK...

A: Because eh if people came who want to, I don’t know, change something, and if they are helpful for other people, I think that this is good ways to the future.

Some participants mentioned political activism, referring in a positive way to recent demonstrations that had taken place in Glasgow to support refugees or Muslims living in Scotland. However, attitudes seemed to take the form of expressions of gratitude or respect towards the Scottish people, as opposed to feeling that such activism is something that they themselves should engage with, even though the issues relate directly to them and their futures.

While participants, then, could provide examples of their own empowerment through direct social or economic engagement, very little was said with regard to their *political* engagement. They were positive about any political activism conducted by Scottish people that showed support for immigrants, but there were no real examples of the

participants getting involved in politics themselves – almost as though they felt that it was not their place.

The Role of ESOL

The last broad theme in this section explores the role of ESOL and its impact on the participants' language development, on their development of other skills as individuals, and on wider society.

- How ESOL Benefits the Individual

One thing that emerged from the data is that there was no suggestion of the participants learning English for a non-instrumental purpose in the liberal sense; the direct benefits of learning English while living in Scotland are, to them, obvious, making it difficult to claim to learn English simply for the sake of it. Instead, several participants mentioned the benefits of learning English with regard to their future plans, as well as their ability to function more effectively in their current context.

When discussing the approach to teaching and learning English in a Scottish college, many identified the prioritisation of communicative competence over structural accuracy:

Omar: That's very good because you do more practically. In Pakistan I think most of the study is on theory. Like most of us learn theory, theory and theory no practical.

Jeet: You have to learn about first the speaking, yeah you have to learn about grammar as well but it's really important the speaking.

Belem: it's a really positive to me because I'm hearing and speaking 3 hours a day, 3 days a week, during 3 hours English and it makes me feel confident and I learn a lot of things that, if I stay at home, I cannot learn.

It is clear from these comments that learners value an approach to language teaching that prioritises communicative competence over linguistic theory. They seem to regard ESOL as a practical skill rather than an academic subject, which increases access to wider, non-linguistic knowledge:

Omar: So if you do ESOL course you learn some things so you can understand what are going on outside. Otherwise you are just sitting in your room. You don't know (laughs) what are going on the other world.

Ugur: ...we have learned about how I'm gonna write an email, how I'm gonna apply for work, for other things how I'm gonna apply, how I'm gonna write a letter, where I can go for my benefits or...is the most helpful thing we are. ESOL is like English language and also the life, is not only about – I think – is not only about English, it's also about Scotland's society, em, about everything what you want to do.

Yasmina: When I coming here then I'm learn little bit, every day I'm learn little bit more and more more.

S: Alright so it's not only about language education, it's about kind of general education?

Y: General education also that's good, yeah.

S: So, is it important then that the ESOL course covers topics that are helpful or useful for your...

Nuha: Life yeah. That is very good. To, to study something and to find something in your life to do that. Yeah, very helpful.

Phailin: Em, help people to understand more. You know, understand Scottish people more. And eh, understand culture, understand how to live here.

The above comments demonstrate that, for these learners, ESOL goes far beyond learning about language systems, vocabulary items and pronunciation features. The communicative and highly contextualised approach to language teaching enhances their ability to apply their learning to practical contexts, and it appears that the topics selected are also very important; they value lessons that focus on contexts directly related to their everyday lives. Placing language within these contexts allows them to develop useful life skills as well as language skills.

Some also spoke of the added value that comes with the social aspect of being a member of a class:

Belem: And in fact here in the class uh, I have a friendship with [Christina] and [Ugur], and yesterday I am talking with my closest friend at home, and I tell him – her - that I have a Muslim friend now, and I'm discovering a lot of things...

Although the participants came from a wide range of countries, they seemed to regard the building of personal relationships with their classmates as a form of *bonding* social capital, as they all have a lot of shared experiences and can therefore learn from, advise and support each other. It is certainly possible to infer from their responses that the practical benefits of ESOL are regarded as very empowering in terms of developing their ability to function in, and contribute to, Scottish society. Comments also suggest that this impact can be enhanced through the selection of topics that are particularly useful or relevant to their lives. A short anecdote from Christina demonstrates the direct impact of ESOL on her capacity for active participation:

C: For example when I went to the charity shop. I studied it here. I didn't know, nobody tell me noth...anything, I went and I asked this is one charity shop where the people volunteer? And they told me yes. Can I work here? Yes. And I started to do my contribution at, to the economic Scottish...Scottish economic.

S: OK so basically we had some lessons in the class...

C: Yes

S: ...about volunteering and charity...

C: Yes..

S: ...and you went, almost immediately you went and tried to get yourself a voluntary job yeah?

C: Yes. Yes!

- How ESOL Benefits Wider Society

From a liberal perspective of course, the empowerment of individuals leads to their emancipation by allowing them to be more effective, active and, crucially, enlightened members of society. When asked to discuss the

benefits of ESOL to society as a whole, some participants also seemed to hold this view:

Nuha: As we studied before, the, like the charity. I'm interested more about that.

S: Ah! So being, doing community work or...

N: Yeah how to work in charity, and how to apply for that, to be a volunteer. I can make more chance to participate in that, yeah.

S: OK, OK. So participate for you also means to make things better, is that right?

N: Yeah yeah yeah.

Ugur: ...if I not was in an ESOL course I'm thinking "That's not your role, that's just for English". But after when I experienced here in the class, the teacher gave us, you gave us like papers or or one...I have interest in refugees....you gave us some papers about volunteer work for the refugees and that was the thing that I was searching for, and you gave it to us.

Hamid spoke about a desire to "pay something back" as his main motivation for learning. He appeared to be motivated less by a desire for self-fulfilment, or even by a desire to make Scotland a better place, and more by some kind of moral obligation:

H: The important thing is I want to pay back something. Even I don't...I know I can never be a doctor, I can never be a teacher, because it's too late you know for this kind of things...but I still want to learn something in the future, to help this country like you help.

It is interesting that Hamid feels this way despite his asylum application being refused and the impact that this has had on his entitlements to work or claim benefits. For those immigrants who were pushed to Scotland by a need to seek asylum (as opposed to those who were pulled here by the attraction of a better life), this sense of gratitude and the need to repay a debt may be deeply embedded. The feeling of obligation shown towards Scotland and its people adds another layer to the complex issue of emancipation, as it affects the extent to which these immigrants feel *entitled* to problematise and seek to transform structures, even if they impact on them negatively.

Some participants do feel entitled to engage critically, however. Omar, for example, spoke about the importance of sharing ideas and the impact that effective communication between cultural groups can have on societal development:

S: If you disagree with something in Scottish culture...do you feel that you have the right to say? Or do you think oh that's not my business?

Omar: No, you have right to say, to share your ideas. So you can share everything with the peoples. So they can give you a good piece of advice. So in this way you can help and you can also make a part of the community. And also somebody know about you, what's your ideas, maybe they can share on the big place.

However, most participants spoke about their potential contribution to Scottish society as an opportunity for *them* – to get useful work experience, to improve their English, to give something back to their host nation – or to help people who are less fortunate than they are. There was no strong sense that they, as immigrants, are in need of emancipation, or that Scottish society must change in order to address inequalities that they endure. I discuss this finding further in the next section, and explore it in greater detail in Chapter 7.

Further Interpretative Analysis

In this section I explore further the main themes that emerged from the interviews. This involves deeper analysis of the emergent themes described in the previous section and the addition of further interpretations to uncover wider implications for ESOL and emancipation. In doing this I refer not only to the data generated by the interviews; I also draw on my own reflections, observations and experiences as a participant in the research context. This process led me to categorise my interpretations under three headings, presented below.

ESOL: More than a Language Course

The dataset clearly reveals that the participants regard ESOL as more than an academic subject. Most interview participants spoke positively

about the fact that it can also act as a source of other kinds of knowledge and skills. This is perhaps unsurprising, as language learning involves more than learning about language systems and the meanings of vocabulary items. As widely accepted theories such as Communicative Competence (Hymes 1972) and Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1970) have established, the purpose of language teaching is to facilitate effective communication of ideas – not simply to memorise and reproduce information. Rather than being required to know *about* English, the focus is on developing capacities to *use* English in meaningful contexts and to perform ‘real-world’ tasks (Long 2015). Inevitably, this entails the inclusion of factual information and the development of knowledge and skills that may be new to some – or all - learners.

The pragmatic benefits of ESOL provision are highlighted in a 2006 report from NIACE entitled ‘More Than a Language’ (NIACE 2006), which focuses on ESOL provision in England and states that ‘...confidence in English language opens doors and helps people engage in and contribute to civil society’ (NIACE 2006: 3). However, just exactly which doors are opened, which aspects of society learners are helped to engage with, and how they engage with them, can vary greatly depending on the focus of provision.

Indeed, the impact that ESOL can have on learners’ lives raises interesting questions regarding its emancipatory potential. If we assume that the goal is to develop communicative competence in real-world contexts, choices must be made regarding which contexts to include in the curriculum, and which tasks practitioners wish their learners to be able to complete. For example, the topic of Health could be used for indoctrinatory purposes by promoting a certain normative lifestyle, but it could also be empowering if it develops understanding of nutrition and healthy diets. Equally, the same topic could have an emancipatory impact if tasks encourage learners, for example, to explore reasons why Scotland has such high levels of obesity.

The participants in this study seemed to embrace lesson content that they identified as empowering, such as jobseeking, or information about opportunities to do voluntary work. Yasmina, who placed little value on her previous educational background and identified it as contributing to

her disempowerment, regarded her ESOL course as contributing to her general education (p. 320), developing her knowledge and skills over a range of topics. It is understandable that the development of non-linguistic, propositional knowledge is more highly valued by learners who feel their existing education has been limited.

There was little mention made of the emancipatory impact of ESOL, however. This could be attributed to the strong focus on pre-determined outcomes, which limited the scope for learning to be multidirectional, but it may also be because the participants themselves place more value on input that allows them to engage successfully with existing concepts and constructs, rather than to challenge these concepts.

...But Some are More Equal than Others

I have previously suggested that emancipation and inclusion are easier to achieve for some immigrants than for others. Not only that, but those for whom it is more difficult are often those who are already in most need of emancipation. In the sample, most comments about Scottish people and their attitudes towards immigrants were positive. However, it is interesting to note that the two participants who suggested that they had experienced some negativity were both female, Muslim and non-white. In this study it is not appropriate to regard each individual participant as representative of a wider group, but the responses *suggest* that certain aspects of individual identity are likely to impact, on one way or another, on that individual's risk of vulnerability or exclusion.

While the dataset does not allow us to generalise about which immigrant groups find it easier to integrate than others, further differences clearly exist on an individual level. Levels of support available to migrants in the form of bonding and linking social capital are important factors, but country of origin also appears to be important. European participants, or those who had lived in other European countries prior to their arrival, said they did not need to make too many adjustments to their lives in order to feel comfortable in Scotland as they are already familiar with many aspects of Scottish culture, and are also experienced in European models

of education. Non-Europeans spoke more about their reliance on others to help them to adapt, suggesting a higher level of vulnerability and a need for emancipation – though, interestingly, they did not voice this need.

While I have already used existing literature to establish that immigrants to the UK frequently face challenges that place them in more vulnerable positions than people born here, it is also important to note that the level of vulnerability varies, depending on the many factors that make up each individual's identity and life experience. None of the participants felt that the host society is fully responsible for their integration; they all voiced a need for immigrants to adapt in some way. However, if some immigrants do not need to change much to adapt, and others have to make considerable adjustments in their everyday lives, it is not necessarily equitable to provide equal levels of service to all immigrants. While diversity within an ESOL class can be very beneficial in terms of offering authentic information gaps (Hedge 2000: 58-59), promoting cross-cultural understanding (Kramsch 1993: 223-232) and ensuring English remains an authentic medium of communication (Crandall 1999: 241), it is not the case that learners with similar *English levels* automatically have similar *learning needs*. It may therefore be useful to explore alternative ways of grouping learners, taking into account their non-linguistic backgrounds, current needs and future goals.

The "Empowerment as Emancipation" Paradox

A key finding from these interviews is that the participants not only value the empowering nature of their ESOL programme, but they also believe, in the traditional liberal sense, that their individual empowerment *will* lead to their emancipation by allowing them to function freely and autonomously within society. Responses also suggest that participants regard their empowerment as potentially leading to emancipation on a societal level, since it allows them to make a positive contribution to society and to help people who are less fortunate than they are; Phailin's idea of opening a cooking school is a particularly clear example of this.

However, the interview comments tend to avoid issues of political enfranchisement and, more broadly, critical agency. All participants acknowledged that being an immigrant, and not having English as a first language, places them at a disadvantage compared to “indigenous” residents in terms of their ability to participate and feel at home here, and yet there was very little expressed desire for social norms or legislation to change in order to address this inequality, or indeed for participants to challenge the structures that promote social injustice and their acceptance of it.

There was no significant appeal from the participants for change on a structural, or legislative, level, other than from Phailin who felt she should have more rights as the spouse of a UK national. Omar spoke positively about a demonstration in Glasgow against the US government’s “anti-Muslim” travel ban, because it indicated Scottish people’s support for Muslims. However, there was little suggestion that the participants themselves are, or aspire to become, involved in political activism or campaigning for change. There appears to be a broad perception that it is not their “place” to engage critically with politics in this country, implying instead an acceptance that their fate remains in the hands of the indigenous population; they seem to regard Scottish political and societal development as something over which they have no real control.

Here is the paradox, then. Participants in the study believe that increased empowerment and resultant participation in Scottish life will lead to their emancipation, but they also seem prepared to accept a level of structural inequality that makes this emancipation impossible. Several examples from the interviews demonstrate that participants are disadvantaged as a direct consequence of their legal and social status: Hamid is not allowed to work, has no recourse to public funds and faces a constant threat of deportation; Phailin feels humiliated when she has to queue separately from the rest of her family in passport control; Agnieszka is clearly over-qualified for her current job; Christina has been unable to find a job despite having a degree in Economics; Nuha is made to feel that her neighbours are afraid of her. Moreover, at the time of writing, none of them enjoys the same level of political enfranchisement as people who are

born in Scotland, despite being settled here and having many strong connections with Scotland and the UK.

Despite these social injustices, proposed societal contributions from the participants appear to be limited to whatever can be achieved within existing structures, and the main benefit of ESOL seems for them to be its ability to give them a competitive edge in the jobs market, or increased capacities to engage in areas of community activity where immigrants are already welcome. This implies a compliance with hegemonic forces, maintaining the social injustices that disadvantage immigrants in the first place.

Conclusion

Once again I conclude this chapter by returning to the subsidiary research questions that accompany this part of the study:

- What are the perceptions of ESOL learners with regard to emancipation? Do they identify themselves as being excluded, vulnerable or at risk?
- Do they see a need for society to change in order to accommodate them, or do they accept a need on their part to adapt and conform?
- Do they see their ESOL course as a form of indoctrination, or empowerment, or a means of transforming society to address inequalities that they are victims of?

I also wish to reiterate that the conclusions I draw in addressing these questions result from my own analysis of the research data. The limitations of these findings must therefore be acknowledged; they are not presented as incontrovertible truths, nor are the respondents' contributions intended to represent the views of a wider population of ESOL learners. The data was generated within a specific context, and the analysis used the researcher's knowledge of this context to inform the meaning-making process. These conclusions, therefore, are not intended to be generalizable to other contexts, and the specific research context – as well as my positionality within that context – should therefore be borne in mind when considering the conclusions that I draw below.

It is interesting that very few comments from the participants suggest that they regard themselves as vulnerable, or in need of emancipation. Instead, they are grateful for the freedoms and opportunities available to them as immigrants in Scotland. However, certain aspects of their situation or status here suggest that living as an immigrant in Scotland does create inequalities when compared to those who are born here. The extent of these inequalities varied among learners, and relates to the sociocultural distance that they must travel in order to gain sufficient capacities to function effectively within the normative society.

Despite these manifest inequalities, the participants spoke very positively about the ways in which Scotland and its people allow them to feel welcome and participate in society. They stressed the importance of bonding social capital, particularly on arrival, but warned against the dangers of segregation. There was no apparent call for society to change any further to accommodate them, and instead the dominant perception was that migrants who come to Scotland must learn about values, norms and expectations here in order to adapt and settle effectively.

With this in mind, the participants saw their ESOL course not only as a means of learning English in order to communicate with local people, but also as a source of other knowledge and skills that can empower them further. Despite the inequalities they face as immigrants, the lack of perceived need for societal transformation implies that emancipation is not a required goal for ESOL. However, this entails an acceptance of these inequalities. Perhaps the participants in the study are not fully aware of the injustices that they are experiencing, or are prepared to accept a certain level of injustice in return for the “privilege” of being a resident of Scotland. This reluctance among vulnerable members of society to acknowledge and address the injustices they suffer from reflects a condition that was identified by Freire:

...the oppressed are reluctant to resist, and totally lack confidence in themselves.

They have a diffuse, magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressor

(Freire 1996: 46).

This finding can only strengthen the case for ESOL programmes to act as a source of emancipation. I examine this, and other findings from the study, further in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: ESOL and Emancipation: Critical Interpretive Analysis

Introduction

This thesis has explored the emancipatory potential of college ESOL programmes in Scotland from three different perspectives: at policy level, practitioner level and learner level. Each of the previous three chapters has provided a detailed analysis of the data generated by exploring perceptions within these three stakeholder groups – identifying, and then interpreting, themes that emerged from each dataset. In this chapter I bring these themes together in order to answer my overarching research question regarding the extent to which college ESOL programmes are perceived as a source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland. This takes the form of a critical analysis of stakeholder perceptions, as presented in the data corpus. I then draw on my knowledge of the ELT profession in general and the Scottish FE context in particular to offer some reasons why these perceptions exist, specifically exploring various barriers that inhibit the emancipatory potential of ESOL. Finally, I offer up some examples of how a more critical, emancipation-driven approach to ESOL could be implemented within the existing structures of FE, and how this would benefit ESOL learners and, more widely, how it would lead to the promotion of a more inclusive society.

Perceptions of Emancipation

If It Ain't Broke...

Having presented research data that represents the perceptions expressed in policy documents, by practitioners and by learners, this study has found little evidence of an expressed need for ESOL to have social emancipation as a goal, which inevitably raises questions about the relevance or importance of my thesis. In Chapter 2 I presented a case for ESOL as emancipatory practice, but it appears that my view is not shared by other stakeholders, seemingly because there is little perceived need for the transformation of social structures. At policy level, Scotland has an ESOL strategy, the objectives of which are to involve immigrants in all

aspects of society, including policymaking, with active participation being a key theme. Involving ESOL learners in designing their learning experiences, transforming communities and shaping future policy must surely entail the emancipation of these learners. Logically, then, the very existence of a policy that facilitates the participation of potentially vulnerable minority groups means that Scotland is already a society that considers the rights of these groups, and therefore has little need to change. Having a policy with such transformative objectives allows the government to claim that emancipation can be achieved within existing structures.

The view that structural change is unnecessary, or undesirable, also seems to be held by ESOL practitioners. The questionnaire responses suggest that practitioners see their main role as being to *empower* learners, providing them with the language and skills they need to achieve their own personal goals and aspirations within existing societal constructs. It is understandable that ESOL practitioners should seek to empower their learners, since liberal, humanist values are widely held in ELT practice (see Chapter 2), with a strong moral-professional focus on meeting individual learner needs (see for example Nunan 1988: 13-24, Richards and Rogers 2001: 167, Harmer 2001: 115-116) and the importance of developing strategies for autonomous learning (Hedge 2000: 75-106, Harmer 2001: 335-343).

Having said that, practitioners identified limitations and expressed frustrations regarding the scope that exists for them to empower their learners. A widely held view seems to be that the prescriptive curriculum imposed by the inclusion of SQA-accredited units limits practitioners' capacities to address the direct needs of their learners, pulling ESOL towards a model of *indoctrination*, in which learners are taught what those in power want them to learn, promoting docility and compliance. There is a sense among practitioners that a less prescriptive curriculum, with a reduced focus on meeting externally-imposed outcomes and requirements, would allow them to achieve their goal of empowerment more effectively, and that this could be achieved through changes in institutional priorities. The obstacles to empowerment that they identify

are also obstacles to emancipation, but, for practitioners, the transformation of society as a whole is perceived as unnecessary, undesirable, or beyond their remit.

The views of ESOL learners also indicate little perceived need for Scottish society to change in order to accommodate or include immigrants more effectively. Almost all respondents were positive about the ways in which Scottish people and institutions facilitate their integration, evidenced by positive and welcoming attitudes from local people, welfare support, access to ESOL and other forms of education, and initiatives that facilitate community participation. There was clear recognition among learners in the study that ESOL involves much more than learning English as an academic subject. The relevance of ESOL to their everyday and professional lives, and the knowledge and skills that can be developed in order to enhance their potential to be successful residents in Scotland, is highly valued by learners. They are grateful that the opportunity exists for them to attend an ESOL programme, and the empowering impact of their learning experience is something that they appreciate. For the learners in the study, Scotland is already doing enough to facilitate the integration of its immigrants.

The above revelations from the study, then, could lead to the conclusion that there is no real need for Scottish society to transform in order to be more inclusive towards immigrants, and that emancipatory education, therefore, is unnecessary. The accepted role of ESOL seems to be to empower individual learners; transformation of society is not required, or not something ESOL needs to be concerned with.

Conflicts, Paradoxes and Cognitive Dissonance

However, to hold the view that emancipation need not be an objective of ESOL is to ignore several conflicts and paradoxes, and requires a certain level of cognitive dissonance. Policy, practitioner perceptions and learner perceptions all appear to hold simultaneous yet conflicting views – views which raise questions about the logic underpinning the validity of an empowering approach to ESOL and an integrationist model of settlement.

Let us firstly examine the emancipatory potential of the ESOL Strategy. As mentioned above, social justice is to the fore in the Strategy's declared vision and objectives. However, in Chapter 4 I discussed how actively subordinating ESOL provision to the neoliberal constructs that exist within FE, which prioritises the needs of employers rather than learners, seriously undermines the capacity for ESOL to address the inequality and exclusion experienced by immigrants in the first place.⁵ While the ESOL Strategy's objectives appear to be laudable, then, its implementation within the FE context is unlikely to lead to the emancipation of those who are most in need of it.

Critical discourse analysis of the Strategy also revealed an assumption that economic goals and social justice are mutually achievable. However, the reality is that tensions and conflicts exist between corporate interests and the welfare of migrants. Many migrants living in Scotland already meet employer needs by working in low-skilled, low-paid, insecure jobs; the proportion of non-UK nationals working in low-skilled jobs such as food manufacture has increased significantly since the early 2000s (Migration Observatory 2016b). For employees engaged in manual labour, knowledge of English is not a requirement, and there is therefore little demand from employers for their migrant staff to attend ESOL classes.

Relevant to this issue is the fact that an employee in Scotland who does not speak English and is unaware of their rights is more vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers, creating a disincentive among such employers for their migrant staff to attend ESOL courses. The introduction of the *Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act* (Scottish Government 2015:b) and the existence of charities like Migrant Help UK (Migrant Help UK 2017), which assists victims of trafficking in applying for asylum in the UK, suggest an urgent need to protect migrants from exploitation and modern slavery. Of course, only a small number of employers would be likely to actively prevent their staff from learning English, but it must be conceded that employers who wish to exploit their employees are unlikely to request that colleges offer them ESOL.

⁵ Of course, this also applies to "indigenous" college students. Current policy prioritises industry needs over social justice across *all* subjects. College ESOL students are therefore part of a wider educational crisis.

If further education aims to meet industry needs, then, we must consider a widely recognised perception across the profession that employers seem largely indifferent to the English language development of employees in low- or unskilled jobs. This perception, confirmed by my own experience, derives from the paucity of employers actively seeking to facilitate ESOL provision for their employees, and the prevalence of employers who provide on-site accommodation for migrant workers, thereby minimising opportunities to engage with Scottish society in any way.

This creates an ethical dilemma for college ESOL providers as well as a policy conflict. Following DYW, ESOL should not be a priority for colleges as there is little expressed demand for it from employers. Yet, the ESOL Strategy envisions that ‘...all Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision’ (Scottish Government 2015a: 2). Colleges, therefore, are required on one hand by the ESOL Strategy to provide learners with the language that allows them to participate actively in society, but on the other hand the wider FE agenda expects them to prepare their learners for the workplace, which may not require them to learn English at all.

It must also be borne in mind that Human Capital Theory, which currently drives FE policy in Scotland, is grounded in neoliberal ideology, which entails and is predicated upon an unequal society (Giroux 2011: 110-111). Any society that allows such policy to be implemented is, from a critical perspective, one that needs to change. ESOL practitioners’ criticisms of the current system relate primarily to limitations placed on their ability to take a more liberal approach *within* existing constructs. However, any attempts to achieve social justice within a neoliberal economic model ensure existing inequalities are preserved, and are therefore bound to fail (Mulderigg 2015).

A further paradox exists with regard to agency and the pre-existing capacities of migrants in Scotland. College ESOL programmes can only be accessed by immigrants who have a sufficient level of agency to identify a local provider, apply for a course and succeed in being accepted on a course that they are able to attend. Of those who gain access to provision, the learners most likely to succeed are those who have the most well-

developed learning skills, and who are most familiar with the approaches to teaching and assessment that are commonly used in Scottish colleges. The performative culture of the college sector and the use of attainment figures to measure quality creates an incentive for colleges to recruit learners with pre-existing capacities for success *within* this current paradigm, and to exclude learners who do not already have these capacities. Effectively, this model serves to exclude the most vulnerable or at risk learners from college ESOL programmes, catering instead for those who already have capacities to function and flourish within existing structures. This may be one reason why structural change was not perceived as necessary by learner participants in the study; a study of immigrants who have *not* succeeded in accessing an ESOL course may reveal very different perceptions.

Meanwhile, the current system does not prioritise those migrants in Scotland who are at most risk of disenfranchisement and exclusion – those whose *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) is furthest from expected norms in Scotland, whose social capital does not extend beyond their own language community and the occasional encounter with support services, whose lack of first language education creates huge barriers to learning English, or whose lack of employability severely narrows their opportunities to be successful within the existing societal construct. Migrants who fall into any of these categories are less likely to be able to access ESOL in the first place and, if they do, their needs may be overshadowed by learners who can articulate and assert their views more effectively. Ironically then, immigrants who actually need society to change are unlikely to be able to effect change, and those with the greatest capacities to influence policy or contribute to society are the ones who need it to change the least.

This study has also revealed a conflicting view held by practitioners in terms of their perceptions of ESOL learners, which relates to the above paradox. Almost all practitioners surveyed in the study identified their learners as being vulnerable in some way, which implies a general perception that immigrants to Scotland are at risk of, or already suffering from, exclusion or exploitation. Yet they do not appear to advocate the transformation of society to address this injustice. Rather, practitioners

prefer to use ESOL to empower individual learners, thereby reducing their vulnerability. This may improve their resilience when they have to deal with difficult circumstances, but it does nothing to mitigate their being in difficult circumstances in the first place – nor does it address the vulnerability and inequalities experienced by other immigrants in Scotland. Giving ESOL learners the skills to succeed without challenging existing power structures simply increases their capacity to comply with the needs of the powerful and maintain existing maldistributions of social and economic power.

This conclusion leads us to question the whole purpose of ESOL for empowerment, since its current configuration entails an uncritical acceptance of existing structures and seeks to help learners to slot into whatever roles are available for them within the current, economy-driven model. Many immigrants could be described – or describe themselves – as functioning effectively within existing societal structures, but if the roles available to them do not match their skills, abilities or aspirations, and if current structures place immigrants in disadvantaged positions, this “effective functioning” essentially entails an act of profound social injustice (Guo 2010b, 2014).

ESOL learners themselves also appear to hold conflicting views. On the one hand, they are very grateful for the positive attitudes of Scottish people towards immigrants and an existing provision that seeks to facilitate their integration. They do not express a strong desire to engage critically with, or participate in, the transformation of society. Indeed, most of them stated that they do not think Scottish society needs to change.

Yet, this perception seems to be at odds with the examples of social exclusion, lack of access to benefits, underemployment and political disenfranchisement that some participants described, and which wider analysis supports. For example, despite equal opportunities legislation, discrimination of minority groups still exists in the workplace (see for example Kamenou et al 2013) and in wider society (Meer 2014), and the vast majority of ESOL learners remain disenfranchised from most aspects of the democratic process (UK Government 2017b). Perhaps this cognitive

dissonance is influenced by the hierarchical or otherwise unequal backgrounds from which many migrants come. It certainly seems to strengthen the case for a more critical, problem-posing approach to ESOL, to stimulate learners to reflect on their situations through a critical lens.

The apparent wilful acceptance among migrants of their own oppression reminds me of a quote from Erich Fromm that Freire uses in describing the plight of the oppressed:

[Man] would be free to act according to his own will, if he knew what he wanted, thought, and felt. But he does not know. He conforms to anonymous authorities and adopts a self which is not his. The more he does this, the more powerless he feels, the more is he forced to conform. (Fromm 1960: 255-256, quoted in Freire 2013: 6).

Rather than looking for ways to modify existing power structures, students participating in this study appear to accept that their only hope of achieving success is by conforming to the norms of the status quo. Developing their English skills helps to facilitate their conformity, but this is indicative of an assimilationist model of integration and an indoctrinatory approach to education, with learning geared towards developing capacities to meet the needs of the dominant host society rather than attempting to improve systemic inequalities experienced by disadvantaged minorities. Meanwhile, immigrants continue to face the same risks described above.

ESOL as "Comfort Radicalism"

The above paradoxes and conflicts lead me to suggest that ESOL in the Scottish FE sector, and the progressive or transformative impact that it ostensibly has on society, are in fact a form of 'comfort radicalism'. This is a term used by James Avis (2014, 2017) to describe

...the contradictory relations in which we are enmeshed and the manner in which we become complicit with those wielding power while presenting ourselves as radical (Avis 2017: 195).

In his examination of how education policy seeks to address the issue of young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEETs),

Avis (2014) laments the fact that the debate over NEETs is 'located... within a productivism that celebrates waged labour' (Avis 2014: 285), and that '...even leftist analyses that anticipate post-capitalist futures are predicated on productivism' (ibid). He concludes with a warning about seemingly progressive, leftist solutions to the "problem" of NEETs:

The danger is that leftist strategies could easily fold over into a form of capitalist reformism with all the problems that poses, rather than one committed to revolutionary reformism that is predicated on an anti-capitalist stance (Avis 2014: 286).

Writing within the context of the FE sector, Avis (2017) broadens out the notion of comfort radicalism to explore alternatives to the current neoliberal model of capitalism. This leads him to identify ways in which "solutions" to current models merely result in a form of self-regulation, without altering existing power structures:

Social democratic concerns to address the needs of students resonate with the moral and pedagogic sensibilities of teachers together with their understanding of what it is to be a professional, which can lead to complicity in their own exploitation (Avis 2017: 198).

If we apply the concept of comfort radicalism to the research data gathered in my study, it is possible to identify ways in which those responsible for policy, colleges, and practitioners all believe they are engaging in some form of radical, progressive activity, when in fact they are merely conforming to the will of hegemonic forces. At policy level, the very fact that Scotland has had an ESOL strategy for the past ten years allows the Scottish Government to present itself as more progressive and concerned with social justice than the other nations of the UK⁶. Moreover, the inclusion in the revised ESOL Strategy of objectives that seek to emancipate learners through their involvement in the decision-making processes of ESOL provision (Scottish Government 2015a: 21) also allows the Scottish Government to present itself as being focused on redistributing power to potentially vulnerable members of society.

However, as I have discussed at various points throughout this thesis, the

⁶ The Welsh Government first published an ESOL strategy in 2014, and there is currently no ESOL strategy in England or Northern Ireland.

Strategy is still *located within a context that prioritises economic needs*, ensuring that corporate interests are valued over those of vulnerable groups. Also, by failing to focus explicitly on *critical* engagement with current societal structures, or even to encourage learners to identify existing societal inequalities, the Strategy is unlikely to have the truly transformative impact that authentically radical approaches to education, such as critical pedagogy, aspire to achieve (see Chapter 2). Rather, any influence on content or policy is likely to come from those ESOL learners who are, relatively speaking, and as I have discussed in the section above, least likely to require social emancipation.

The perceptions of ESOL practitioners explored in Chapter 5 also suggest a certain level of comfort radicalism among these stakeholders. They identified the imposition of external outcomes, content and the need for accreditation as limiting the empowering impact of college ESOL programmes. ESOL practitioners place importance on selecting learning content that facilitates their learners' capacities to achieve success in their new environment. However, this involves developing their ability to use English to function more effectively within *existing* structures, rather than to challenge or transform those structures. ESOL practitioners appear to acknowledge the vulnerability of their learners and the potential for their praxis to address this vulnerability, but a fully emancipatory approach that seeks to reduce the vulnerability of all immigrants in Scotland does not seem to be part of their agenda. Rather, the "radicalism" of their praxis is limited to ensuring they and their learners have some input on content, and that their curriculum is not entirely prescriptive. For them, the "struggle" lies between *indoctrination* and *empowerment* (see Chapter 2: The Emancipation Continuum); they seek to address their learners' individual needs but find themselves pushed towards addressing the needs of industry instead. The fact that they are operating within the highly neoliberal paradigm of FE makes their liberal, empowering approach *seem* radical. However, Avis argues that such claims to radicalism among teaching professionals simply mean that

...teachers become complicit in their own exploitation and college leaders are able to feel good about themselves and their radicalism...This...does little to challenge

existing power and capitalist relations but...appropriates a suitably radical language.
(Avis 2017: 199).

We can conclude then that college ESOL provision is seen in policy discourse, and by practitioners, as something radical, in that it appears on the surface to promote equality and offer ways for immigrants to participate more actively in Scottish society. However, without any overt focus on finding ways to reduce inequalities suffered by immigrants in the first place, the transformational impact of ESOL is minimal, allowing instead for practitioners and learners alike to be more efficiently exploited. Avis's concept of comfort radicalism (Avis 2017) exposes so-called "soft-Left" policies and practices as being ineffectual in addressing the inequalities that exist in late-capitalist society, strengthening the case for a radical overhaul of society and redistribution of power, as advocated in Marxist theory.

It is also clear from the above analysis that college ESOL programmes are NOT perceived as a source of emancipation for immigrants in Scotland. Instead, the dominant, liberal perception that ESOL is a source of individual empowerment results in college ESOL programmes failing to address the social and structural issues that place immigrants in vulnerable positions in the first place, and merely promotes a requirement for immigrants to manage their own agility and compliance with hegemonic forces within an aggressively capitalist paradigm. It appears that the stakeholders included in the study are unaware that their views on the purpose of ESOL promote existing inequalities and socio-economic injustices, and this phenomenon of unwitting compliance and comfort radicalism merits further exploration. In the next section I draw on my wider knowledge of the research context to suggest reasons why all three stakeholder groups appear so reluctant to embrace emancipation as a key purpose of ESOL.

Underlying Reasons

Policy, Priorities and Power

It is possible to identify several reasons that underpin stakeholder perceptions of college ESOL programmes and their relationship to emancipation. First of all, it must be appreciated that any government, however progressive it may wish to portray itself, is unlikely to implement a policy that leads to a major shift in a nation's power distributions (Brown 2015d). The Scottish Government appears to prioritise economic needs over social justice, as predicted by Mooney et al (2008) and discussed in Chapter 4. Therefore, the economic role played by migrants is likely to be of more concern than any social inequalities that they experience. The use of migrant workers to fill low-skilled, low-paid positions in the labour market is well-documented (Guo 2010a) and important to Scotland's economy (Bell et al 2014, Scottish Government 2016). From the Scottish Government's perspective, the emancipation of these "New Scots" is less important than their economic contribution, particularly if this emancipation results in challenges to policy and government strategy.

Locating ESOL provision within the highly neoliberal context of current FE ensures that the employability agenda continues to dominate, and the performative culture that pervades the FE sector inhibits the emancipation of learners even further. Such a culture requires the use of measurable indicators to evaluate performance. The inclusion of accredited qualifications in ESOL programmes is a result of this performative culture, and in Chapter 5 I observed that ESOL practitioners identify SQA ESOL units as placing limits on their ability to focus on more relevant or beneficial content with their learners.

Practitioners' Professional Backgrounds

Further barriers to emancipation exist with regard to ESOL practitioners and the training they receive. As the questionnaire responses described in Chapter 5 illustrate, most ESOL practitioners have attained internationally accredited qualifications in Teaching ESOL (TESOL). Such training courses

have been developed by for-profit organisations for an international market, capitalising on the spread of English Language Teaching (ELT) as a global industry. The marketization of English, English language learning and ELT has led to the commodification of teacher training: the same course, following the same syllabus and the same measures of standardisation, can be accessed all over the world. Inevitably, the 'McDonaldization' of the ELT profession (Littlejohn 2012: 291) means that these courses tend to de-contextualise teaching, as they assume that the same range of teaching strategies and techniques can be applied to any context. This homogenised approach removes the potential for these courses to explore specific, localised issues of inequality or social justice that could be experienced by certain ESOL learners, muting any discourses of "difference".

Internationally-recognised TESOL qualifications also tend to prescribe a very meticulous approach to lesson planning (see for example Makarios 2016), in which every single lesson stage is carefully planned in advance. Such an approach to planning leaves very little space for the learners to have any input on lesson content, thereby limiting the scope to exploit the learning opportunities that such input provides (Baynham 2006).

In addition to having received training designed with the international ELT industry in mind, many college ESOL practitioners also have prior experience of working in private language schools (see Chapter 5). The main priority in such institutions is customer satisfaction, rather than the common good. This leads to an individualistic approach to encourage learners to achieve their own goals, as well as the avoidance of topics that might make learners feel uncomfortable, as I describe below when analysing ELT materials. In non-English speaking countries, students who can afford to study at private language schools often come from privileged backgrounds and are unlikely to appreciate an approach to education that criticises a power structure from which they benefit at the expense of others. Internationally recognised TESOL courses, in consequence, tend to focus on the low-level, technical aspects of language teaching, drawing on the field of Applied Linguistics to relate these techniques to Second

Language Acquisition (SLA) theory. This has been the case for many years, with Phillipson criticising TESOL qualifications back in 1988:

[The] professional training of ELT people concentrates on linguistics, psychology and education in a restricted sense. It pays little attention to international relations, development studies, theories of culture or intercultural contact, or the politics or sociology of language or education (Phillipson 1988: 348).

This avoidance of politics and international relations is widely attributed to the imperialistic history underpinning ELT (Phillipson 1992, Pennycook 2017) and the fact that any focus on such issues would expose this genealogy. The impact of the narrow approach of these teacher-training courses is that many ESOL practitioners around the world, including those working in Scottish FE colleges, have little awareness of Freirean or other critical approaches to education. This may also explain the dominance of liberalism in ESOL practice that I described in Chapter 2. Certainly, the attitudes and perceptions expressed by ESOL practitioners in Chapter 5 indicate a prioritisation of liberal values such as the promotion of autonomy and the rejection of pure instrumentalism, but they also stop short of promoting critical pedagogy. As long as TESOL programmes continue to avoid focusing on the societal impact of ELT, they will act as a barrier to the promotion of critical values among ESOL practitioners. This exposes a key limitation of liberal education when compared with critical pedagogy.

The Influence of Teaching Materials

We can also identify barriers to emancipatory ESOL with regard to the materials used on college programmes. In Chapter 2 I described how most popular teaching materials are produced by large publishing companies for a global market, and tend to espouse the liberal values of breadth, non-instrumental purpose and autonomy. These materials have also received criticism for their over-standardised approach to content selection; by attempting to appeal to a global market, topics that could cause offence to learners in certain contexts are effectively airbrushed out of the curriculum. Publishers use the PARSNIP acronym (Politics, Alcohol,

Religion, Sex, Narcotics, Isms⁷ and Pork) to ensure that these potentially “problematic” topics do not feature in their materials (Gray 2002, Brown 2017b, Littlejohn 2012). Furthermore, Copley (2018) has identified an ‘...eliding of any explicit class identity, or acknowledgement of conflict arising out of class location’ (Copley 2018: 54) as an increasingly common feature of ELT coursebooks over the past three decades.

From a theoretical perspective, the market-driven motivation behind the avoidance of controversial topics, and the paternalistic assumptions made in deciding what may or may not be offensive to learners, conflict with the principles of critical pedagogy. In practice, it becomes impossible for ESOL to take an emancipatory approach, or even encourage discussion of key social and political issues, if the above topics are censored. The goal of exposing the inequalities inherent in existing social structures, which is central to critical pedagogy, is also seriously undermined when discussions surrounding class are removed from the content and replaced instead with discourses that ‘...emphasize the importance of English skills for maximizing employability and individual economic success’ (Copley 2018: 56). As the questionnaire responses in Chapter 5 reveal, materials published for a global market feature very heavily in college ESOL programmes, further reducing their emancipatory potential, and imposing neoliberal values on the learning context instead.

Practitioner and Learner Identities

In addition to barriers created by their professional backgrounds, it is also worth considering the social positions held by ESOL practitioners.

Although they may work with learners who have experienced - or are experiencing - high levels of deprivation, vulnerability and exclusion, ESOL practitioners themselves enjoy positions of relative comfort and high social status, with college lecturers’ salaries being well above the national average⁸. While many lecturers may hold political views that could be

⁷ Some literature identifies the “I” in PARSNIP as referring to “Ideology” – an equally broad and potentially engaging concept.

⁸ Recent negotiations have led to national pay harmonization for lecturers and a top annual salary of £40,000 (Denholm 2016a).

described as progressive, and while they may advocate increased rights for their learners, as members of a relatively privileged social class they may be less inclined to endorse radicalism that actively seeks to undermine or overthrow the more fundamental structures that make up our society. Ultimately, we cannot forget that ESOL practitioners are members of Scottish society too, and any transformative impact that immigrants may have on society could, directly or otherwise, impact on their own social status.

Indeed, reluctance among practitioners to encourage ESOL learners to influence Scottish societal norms may derive from what they know about their learners' backgrounds and beliefs. Some migrants come from cultures where oppression of minorities, for example, is the norm, and the introduction of such values in Scotland would clearly be anathema to the creation of a more equitable society. Mention is made by some respondents about the importance of ensuring learners' values and practices do not transgress existing laws; perhaps these comments are grounded in concerns that immigrants would seek to create a more oppressive society. Of course, if it is the case that some learners have previously been educated to accept inequality and injustice uncritically, this further strengthens the need for critical thinking and critical pedagogy in ESOL, and certainly does *not* support the avoidance of critical engagement with relevant topics.

Learners' Priorities

It is also possible to identify a barrier to emancipation created by ESOL learners themselves. There is no doubt that ESOL learners in Scotland do face risks of exploitation, exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination, disenfranchisement and exclusion, and that these risks derive directly from their status as immigrants. We must remember that the gaps in the labour market that led to increased inward migration to Scotland in the first years of the millennium were, in many cases, in low-status jobs (Scottish Government 2016). The increasingly precarious nature of such employment through zero-hour contracts (Warren 2015), and the

underemployment commonly experienced by immigrants through lack of English or lack of recognition of qualifications (Guo 2014), means that immigrants form a significant proportion of a newly emergent social class known as the *precariat* (Standing 2011).

However, I would suggest that the *relative* nature of ESOL learners' autonomy and freedom as residents of Scotland is significant here. When they consider the limited freedoms or opportunities that were available to them in their own countries, or attitudes towards immigrants that they have previously witnessed (or held themselves), the quality of life that they can have in Scotland within the existing power structures often compares very favourably. Furthermore, the apparent passive acceptance of inequality could stem from the fact that immigrants may be less likely to compare their rights and freedoms with those of people born in Scotland, and more with the rights and freedoms of other immigrants. If access to a college ESOL programme leads to empowerment and increased employability, this places ESOL learners in a much stronger position than migrants who are unable to study ESOL. In a neoliberal paradigm that requires each individual to become '...an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur' (Olssen et al 2004: 136), their principal concern may simply be to gain an edge over other immigrants, and an ESOL programme that focuses on individual empowerment provides this.

It must be stressed though that the absence of a perceived need among immigrants to address the inequalities from which they suffer does not mean that these inequalities do not need to be addressed. On the contrary, it demonstrates the extent to which the 'ideology of the global market insinuates itself everywhere' (Holborow 2007: 51). The apparent perception among immigrants that solutions to their disadvantaged positions in society lie in closer compliance with, rather than the challenging of, hegemonic forces, shows how neoliberal ideology has become embedded in global consciousness. As Copley puts it:

We are obliged to re-imagine ourselves within an atomized framework, in which competitiveness is the ever present and overriding goal of all activity (Copley 2018: 45).

Findings from my study indicate a lack of criticality among immigrants, which allows existing hegemonies and inequalities to flourish. If learners were encouraged to challenge rather than accept inequalities through the delivery of a more critical form of ESOL provision, this could give them a louder voice, raise awareness of examples of social injustice, and lead to these injustices being addressed; this would allow ESOL to have a truly emancipatory impact.

Untapped Emancipatory Potential

While this study produced little or no evidence to suggest that ESOL programmes actively seek to emancipate learners, this does not mean that the emancipatory *potential* of ESOL does not exist; nor indeed does it mean that this potential should not be explored and exploited. At policy level, the refreshed ESOL Strategy still calls on ESOL learners to shape their own learning experiences and influence government strategy. Taking a more critical approach to current learning content, local issues and national strategies could allow these objectives to be achieved in a genuinely emancipatory way. As outlined in Chapter 4, the current Scottish Government is fond of promoting equality in its social policy documents, but appears to shy away from genuine progressive and transformative action when it comes to policy implementation; ensuring college ESOL provision functions within the constraints of a neoliberal paradigm. However, there are still ways for colleges to take a more emancipatory approach to ESOL provision, as I outline below.

Applying Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory

With regard to language teaching methodology, I mentioned in Chapter 2 that current approaches to ESOL tend to be more congruent with liberal education, but the principles of critical pedagogy can also be applied to language teaching and can tie in with widely held beliefs about second language acquisition. In his highly influential Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis, Krashen (2003: 1) prioritised subconscious language learning – the acquisition of language without it being overtly explained or taught

to the learner – over conscious learning. Other applied linguists have also placed importance on unconscious or implicit learning in the SLA process (for example Corder 1967, Ellis 1985, Prabhu 1987). The notion that language can be acquired through exposure and practice rather than, or as well as, the instruction and application of grammar rules, opens up the possibility for the ESOL curriculum to follow an organising principle based not on linguistic structures, but on the completion of non-linguistic tasks. More recently, Mike Long introduced his approach to Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) by stressing its congruence with commonly accepted theories of SLA:

TBLT invokes a symbiotic *combination of implicit and explicit learning* that theory and research findings in several fields, including SLA, show are available to students of all ages. The availability of both these processes...generally fits well with what is known about adult learning, including adult language learning. The basic tenets of TBLT are motivated by, and broadly consistent with, the past 40 years of SLA research findings (Long 2015: 8).

The implication of this is that a critical, emancipatory approach to ESOL can be implemented in a way that runs congruent with SLA theory. Lessons could feature the completion of tasks that require learners to engage critically with socio-political issues that impact their lives, with language input taking the form of 'noticing' language (Long 2015: 25) within the meaningful context in which it is presented.

In Chapter 2 I referred to examples of ESOL as emancipatory practice (Worthman 2008) and Cooke's (2006) call for ESOL to be less standardised and more 'Freirean-inspired' (Cooke 2006: 71). If critical pedagogy were to feature more heavily in college ESOL programmes, this would not diminish in any way their effectiveness from a language learning perspective. Indeed, such an approach is arguably far more effective than the dominant, synthetic model followed by most global coursebooks, which entails '...a psycholinguistically unrealistic timetable in the form of an externally imposed linguistic syllabus ...[leading to]...virtually guaranteed repeated failure' (Long 2015: 25). It would be beneficial if Continuing Professional Development for ESOL practitioners in Scotland's colleges were to focus attention on theories of SLA and point

out the limitations of the structural, synthetic syllabus from the dual perspectives of SLA theory and critical pedagogy.

Exploiting Current Trends

Another way of promoting critical pedagogy in ESOL is to capitalise on the current popular discourse surrounding 21st Century Skills (Bellanca and Brandt 2010). This discourse is based on the premise that ‘...the 21st century is quite different from the 20th in the capabilities people need for work, citizenship, and self-actualization’ (Dede 2009: 1). Various frameworks have been produced to outline what 21st century skills are and how they should be included in the curriculum, and critical thinking skills tend to feature heavily in such frameworks (ibid: 4-10). The development of critical thinking skills as a means of identifying and addressing imbalances of power is central to critical pedagogy, which calls on educators to ‘...redefine their roles as engaged public intellectuals capable of teaching students the language of critique and possibility as a precondition for social agency’ (Giroux 2011: 78). Critical pedagogues are therefore in a position to take advantage of the “popularity” of critical thinking skills to promote critical pedagogy as a legitimate means of developing essential skills for the 21st century.

Bringing Criticality Into Assessment

While ESOL practitioners who participated in my study commented on the restrictive impact of accreditation on their programmes, there are ways in which the delivery of accredited qualifications can have an emancipatory impact. SQA’s ESOL units, for example, focus on a wide range of topics such as leisure classes, local facilities and charity organisations. While lessons could easily take an indoctrinatory approach by presenting information about these topics as a form of propositional knowledge, or an empowering approach by encouraging participation in related activities, they could equally take a more critical approach, encouraging learners to consider reasons why there are fewer leisure classes in colleges than

there used to be, or why fewer facilities are available in deprived areas, or why more and more people in Scotland rely on food banks.

It is true that the assessment tasks produced by SQA tend to be empowering in nature; one assessment requires learners to discuss plans for a fundraising activity, for example. However, SQA encourages centres to devise their own assessment materials. There is nothing to stop colleges from devising, for example, a listening and speaking assessment that requires learners to discuss the use of charity as a means of diluting government social responsibility.

SQA also offers ESOL units entitled *Living in Scotland* at SCQF levels 4 and 5 (Scottish Qualification Authority 2012b). These units require learners to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of various aspects of Scottish life, including Parliament and the Electoral System, Knowing the Law, and Human Rights. There is clearly scope for ESOL practitioners to take an emancipatory approach to the delivery of these units, encouraging learners to analyse existing systems and practices from a critical perspective, identify examples of injustice or inequity, and present alternatives.

As well as offering ESOL qualifications, SQA also offers units that are not designed specifically for ESOL learners, but which can still be included within an ESOL programme. Units such as *Working With Others*, *Problem Solving*, *Local Investigations* and *Event Organisation* require learners to plan and organise an activity, conduct that activity and then review and evaluate the effectiveness of the activity. These units therefore lend themselves well to project work, with learners working alone or in groups to complete a series of tasks related to the achievement of a single goal. From a language learning perspective, performing tasks like these creates opportunities for learners to use English for meaningful and authentic interaction with fellow students, but also with local residents. Language can be focused on, as required, to allow learners to complete the tasks successfully. The more relevant the projects are to the learners' everyday lives, the more relevant the language that they learn will be to their needs (for more on Project-Based learning in ESOL see Brown 2015c). Inclusion of these non-ESOL units within an ESOL programme does not

automatically lead to emancipation, but projects can focus on contexts, and develop critical skills, that seek to emancipate.

Conclusion

Emancipation may not be on the agenda of many stakeholders in ESOL, but as I have demonstrated in this section, it is not difficult to envision how a critical, emancipatory agenda could be implemented in college ESOL programmes. While institutional priorities and muddled policymaking do impact negatively on the emancipatory potential of ESOL (Brown 2017a), the emancipatory *objectives* of the ESOL Strategy remain, and a strong case can be made that the only way of achieving these objectives is to take a critical-emancipatory approach to ESOL provision. It is possible that ESOL policymakers have not had this case presented to them and genuinely believe that the ESOL Strategy facilitates emancipation. Whether or not this is the case, it would be interesting to learn how the Scottish Government might respond to claims that it does not.

The previous section demonstrates how clear potential exists for a critical-emancipatory approach to college ESOL delivery, and also suggests that such an approach would be far more effective, in terms of both language acquisition and the achievement of the ESOL Strategy's objectives. However, it appears that institutions and practitioners themselves choose not to take this approach, influenced as they are by a range of factors that drive the ELT profession in general and college ESOL more specifically. Similarly, immigrants who wish to study ESOL are, understandably, preoccupied with their own precarious situations and are grateful for any type of learning that offers opportunities to conform rather than transform. The resulting focus on individual empowerment as the *end-point* of ESOL means that the whole project is limited to ensuring learners comply with all-pervasive neoliberal values.

Chapter 8: Where Next?

Evaluation and Impact of the Study

It could be argued that the findings of this study and the conclusions drawn in the previous chapter are heavily influenced by my own political beliefs, and that a researcher with a different worldview might interpret the research findings very differently. It is indeed the case that my own positionality in the research context has heavily influenced the way I have interpreted the data, but it is precisely for this reason that I feel my study has been effective. Critical research seeks to explore and unearth examples of inequality and injustice with a view to exposing hegemony and challenging existing power structures. My study suggests that the inequalities and injustices faced by migrants in Scotland are not directly addressed by college ESOL programmes and, crucially, that practitioners and learners see no need to address them, preferring instead to comply with the demands of dominant forces. A less critical approach to the analysis of ESOL provision in Scotland may not have succeeded in unearthing this phenomenon. I therefore feel that the findings of the study can be of real value to all groups who have an interest in college ESOL provision in Scotland - and I discuss this below.

Regarding policy, my study demonstrates the problematic nature of policy implementation if it is assumed that social justice can be achieved within a neoliberal paradigm. The assumption that the emancipation of immigrants can be realised within the employability-focused parameters of the FE sector, and that this emancipation is compatible with the achievement of economic goals, is wholly unrealistic and places unfair expectations on providers. If, as previously discussed, the primary motivation behind increased immigration to Scotland has been to fill gaps in the low-skilled, low-paid labour market, which places immigrants in low-status social positions, it is difficult to see how continuing to prioritise this economic need can possibly lead to the emancipation of these same low-paid migrants. If social justice and the successful inclusion of immigrants are genuine priorities for the SNP (or any government), the incompatibility of these priorities with an aggressively capitalist economic model must be acknowledged, and appropriate policy revisions made.

For ESOL practitioners, this study may serve to offer a new perspective on the purpose of college ESOL programmes. The general perception that the purpose of ESOL is to empower learners with skills for success within the existing socio-economic paradigm only serves to promote this paradigm, which automatically places many migrants in vulnerable positions. This vulnerability exists not only because they lack good English skills, though this is clearly one major barrier, but also because immigrants to Scotland – like all transnational migrants – suffer inequalities through political disenfranchisement, non-recognition of prior learning or work experience, limited access to welfare, and discrimination in social situations (Guo 2010b, Guo 2014, Ward 2008).

Moreover, layers of individual identity intersect so that the bigger the difference between migrants' home cultures and Scottish culture, the more at risk they are likely to be. Practitioners' apparent reluctance to include social justice in their praxis suggests a perception that this goes beyond their remit, and that they would prefer to teach English from a position of political neutrality. However, as Freire points out, 'Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral' (Freire 1996: 122). Any assumption among ESOL practitioners that it is possible to avoid politics in their teaching is fundamentally flawed, as political influences and ideologies shape *all* aspects of curriculum design and delivery.

Removing the possibility of political discussion from the ESOL classroom is a form of censorship that deprives learners of useful language that would allow them to have similar discussions outside the class. Furthermore, any curriculum that does not promote a critical approach necessarily promotes an uncritical acceptance of the dominant, neoliberal agenda. Educators who are concerned that critical pedagogy may be regarded as a form of indoctrination fail to recognise that the alternative is to indoctrinate their students into the existing system. One way or another, education *is* political, as Giroux describes here:

...pedagogy at its best is not about training in techniques or methods, nor does it involve coercion or political indoctrination...pedagogy is a political and moral practice that provides the knowledge, skills and social relations that enable students

to explore the possibilities of what it means to be critical citizens while expanding and deepening their participation in the promise of a substantive democracy (Giroux 2011: 155).

Of course, this also means that any form of practice that does *not* seek to emancipate learners simply promotes - *and colludes with* - the status quo, as I concluded in the previous chapter. When the status quo requires educators to push skills that develop neoliberal agency, reducing each individual's identity to 'a flexible bundle of skills' (Gershon 2011: 537), the potential impact of uncritical educational approaches must surely raise concerns about the welfare, and the democratic voice, of those living in precarious socio-economic positions.

My research suggests that critical approaches to professional reflection and evaluation are not widespread among ESOL practitioners in Scottish colleges. An increased awareness of critical research, critical reflection and critical pedagogy is therefore urgently required for ESOL programmes to have any real emancipatory impact. Perhaps my study can help to highlight this need.

As for ESOL learners, it seems clear from this research study that student participants are focused on their own empowerment, rather than the emancipation of the society of which they are now part - but which, in many respects, is designed to maintain their oppression. They seem happy to slot into roles that society, and the economy, can currently offer them – however exploitative they might be – in return for the (relative) privilege of being a resident in Scotland. This acceptance of inequality is instrumental in facilitating the exploitation of such migrant populations. The study reveals a lack of criticality among ESOL learners with regard to their rights as residents in the UK and the way Scottish society often actively inhibits their inclusion. From an ethical perspective, then, this revelation further strengthens the need for a more critical, emancipatory approach to ESOL, which would seek to develop the capacity for ESOL learners to engage directly with the democratic processes that can lead towards societal transformation.

Recommendations for Future Research:

As well as having potential value to the stakeholders involved in ESOL delivery in Scotland's colleges, the findings from this study may be useful in informing other academic research in related areas. In this section I propose several areas that would benefit from further study.

- English Language Teaching as a Global Industry

Academics such as Pennycook (1990), Phillipson (1992) and, more recently Block et al (2012) and Copley (2018), have exposed the rather sinister side of the ELT industry: how powerful forces promote neoliberal values while also promoting English as an international language, and then capitalise on the dominance of English to exercise power and control over those who are unable to use English and who are therefore excluded from many aspects of global communications. It may be possible to use the emancipation continuum as a framework for a wider exploration of emancipation in other English Language Teaching contexts. As well as being a potential source of empowerment or emancipation, English can also be used to *disempower* through exclusion, or to indoctrinate through assimilation. The global use of English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2006) means that these processes are not necessarily exclusive to English-speaking countries, and similar studies of English language programmes elsewhere in the world could be useful in exposing the weaponisation of English and its use to institutionalise disadvantage and dependency.

- ESOL as Emancipatory Practice

Having identified a need for a more emancipatory approach to ESOL in Scotland's colleges, further research into *classroom practice*, rather than the perceptions of stakeholders that was the focus of this study, could be a productive next step in promoting ESOL as emancipatory practice. Action research on the emancipatory impact of certain tasks and activities, analysis and evaluation of the emancipatory potential of commonly used ESOL materials, projects that develop and evaluate alternative materials, or further research into the ways ESOL learners use

their learning outside the classroom, could all contribute to the development of ESOL as an emancipatory project.

- Degrees of Agency

Although strictly beyond its intended focus, this study inevitably broached key questions of intersectionality and the fact that different aspects of identity contribute to the levels of vulnerability or risk experienced by immigrants in Scotland. Lack of English is clearly one element that places some immigrants at a disadvantage, but many other factors conspire to make immigrants more or less vulnerable or at risk of exclusion or exploitation. Recent studies of the risks faced by asylum seekers (Scottish Government 2017b) and the experiences of LGBTI migrants (Stella et al 2016) are welcome additions to this field, but there is scope for more work to be done in these and other areas to identify who is most at risk and then establish ways to mitigate those risks. It would also be useful to approach the issue of emancipation from a *non-deficit* perspective, exploring examples of how other types of cultural knowledge are, or could be, harnessed in order to further emancipate migrants and other disadvantaged groups (Aman 2017).

- ESOL versus No ESOL

While this study concludes that college ESOL provision does little to emancipate learners on a societal level, its empowering impact is likely to give ESOL learners a competitive advantage over immigrants who do not attend ESOL courses. A comparative study of migrants who are ESOL learners and migrants who are not might reveal more about the extent to which ESOL has an empowering impact. A study of this nature could also provide useful data in establishing how the empowerment of *some* migrants through ESOL can conversely disempower migrants who do not study, thereby strengthening the case for ESOL to pursue an emancipatory and inclusive activist agenda rather than merely an empowering one.

- Barriers to Emancipation

In the previous chapter I identified several underlying reasons for the lack of criticality in ESOL. These reasons are grounded in various issues related

to neoliberalism and the dominance of market forces, which promote competitiveness and entrepreneurialism, ensuring compliance with dominant forces. This in turn facilitates the marketization of English Language Teaching, allows governments to prioritise economic interests over societal interests, and ensures that existing hegemony is preserved. Further critical analyses of the factors inhibiting emancipation in ESOL, as mentioned in Chapter 7, would be useful in exposing the injustices and the abuses of power that are at play here.

- Alternative Sources of Emancipation

While ESOL programmes are unlikely in their present form to lead to the emancipation of immigrants, it is possible that other sources of emancipation exist. The vision of the newly revised “New Scots” Strategy, (Scottish Government 2018) includes a desire that Scotland ‘...has strong, inclusive and resilient communities where everyone is able to access the support and services they need and is able to exercise their rights’ (Scottish Government 2018: 6). While lack of English remains a barrier, it may be that those immigrants who are most in need of emancipation are able to achieve it without attending *formal* ESOL lessons. A study in the emancipatory impact of other forms of training or services would help to establish the extent to which alternative frameworks exist to support emancipation. However, it may instead reveal that the “sense of gratitude” identified in Chapter 6 is a feature of the postcolonial model of globalisation (Aman 2013) which simply allows dominant forces to continue to avoid emancipating immigrant communities, promoting instead ‘...the legitimisation of hierarchies and the devaluation of the perceived Other’s ways of being and doing’ (Aman 2013: 293).

- Challenges for SQA Qualifications

In Chapter 5 I identified a strong sense among ESOL practitioners that the inclusion of SQA units has a negative impact on their ability to deliver programmes effectively. Concerns about the impact of assessment on teaching and learning have been expressed by teachers of other subjects across Scotland since the implementation of *Curriculum for Excellence* (Denholm 2016b), implying some kind of mismatch between the SQA’s

priorities, values and approaches and those of teachers. A study that seeks to explore this apparent disconnect between practitioners and the national examining body could reveal important ideological and methodological disagreements or misunderstandings. Any such revelations will require national attention and discussion to resolve, as they imply a need for both SQA and teaching professionals to re-define, clarify and justify their positions regarding fundamental principles of assessment.

Of course, findings from this research could be used to explore other issues related to English Language Teaching, immigration and integration, empowerment and emancipation, and the role of critical pedagogy within these areas. These are broad concepts after all, which affect a wide range of social and educational contexts. The above section, however, references some key areas that, I feel, would benefit from further academic exploration.

Final Comment

In this dissertation I have described how the influence of Human Capital Theory has led to the Scottish Further Education sector being allocated the role of producing “work-ready” young people to meet the needs of industry, marginalising the other roles that colleges have traditionally played, such as the provision of non-vocational and leisure classes, part-time or community-based programmes to remove barriers for hard-to-reach learners, or classes aimed at mature learners seeking second chances. ESOL learners do not fit the demographic profile that college provision is currently encouraged to cater for, and, as a subject, ESOL itself does not sit comfortably within the employability agenda either, since it does not directly prepare learners for any specific area of industry.

Of course, the fact that ESOL sits uncomfortably within the current neoliberal paradigm of Scottish FE only adds to the general perception that current ESOL provision is a progressive form of education. The SNP-led Scottish Government presents the ESOL Strategy as a policy that promotes social justice. ESOL practitioners value opportunities to help learners to achieve their personal life goals while living in Scotland, and

regard their own values as rather more progressive than those of their institutions. Learners themselves, experienced as most of them are to “banking” models of education, perceive needs-based language education and its strong practical focus as non-traditional, and therefore progressive.

However, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, liberal approaches to education may be empowering but they are not emancipatory. Education that seeks to empower by (ostensibly) prioritising learner needs *appears* to be progressive and radical, but ultimately it only ensures that learners become more capable of self-regulation, developing the agility (Gillies 2011) to conform to the needs of the powerful. The notion that college ESOL provision is progressive in its capacity to emancipate immigrants in Scotland is an illusion, promoted through policy discourse and by practitioners, and accepted by learners, in a collective consensus of comfort radicalism (Avis 2017).

My thesis argues that ESOL learners can only become emancipated if they are involved in the process of effecting societal change, allowing existing inequalities that disadvantage them to be reduced or removed altogether. This can be done by applying critical pedagogy to ESOL provision, giving learners the language and skills to engage critically with social issues and participate in activities that seek to create a more equitable society. However, ESOL as emancipatory practice cannot be achieved through the implementation of the ESOL Strategy, which wrongly assumes that the needs of society can be met at the same time as meeting the needs of those who wield economic power.

Given the lack of awareness among stakeholders of critical-emancipatory pedagogies, or the potential for ESOL to address power imbalances and social injustice, one possible conclusion to draw from this study is that there is little hope for college ESOL programmes to become a source of emancipation for immigrants in Scotland. However, I am reminded of a quote attributed to the linguist, philosopher and social anarchist, Noam Chomsky:

If you assume that there is no hope, you guarantee that there will be no hope. If you assume that there is an instinct for freedom, that there are opportunities to change things, then there is a possibility that you can contribute to making a better world (Chomsky, quoted in Goodreads 2018).

Existing attitudes, which regard liberal education as radical even though it preserves the status quo, continue to prevail largely because of the low profile of critical pedagogy among ESOL professionals working the beleaguered sector that is Scottish FE. This need not remain the case. My dissertation has exposed a need for critical pedagogy to play a more significant role in educational discourse in general, and discourses related to college ESOL provision in particular. By raising awareness of existing misconceptions about the societal benefit (or lack thereof) of college ESOL programmes, and by presenting a case for an alternative approach that prioritises societal change and emancipation, this dissertation brings another, fresh dimension to a longstanding debate. This can open up possibilities for further research, reflection and discussion around the concepts of empowerment and emancipation, radicalising our understanding of the whole purpose of ESOL in the 21st Century.

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APPENDIX A: Critical Discourse Analysis of Revised ESOL Strategy

- Each table heading represents a theme identified within the text.
- The left-hand column indicates the page reference
- Colours were used as part of the coding process, to identify text features with common functions.

| 1. Meeting Economic Needs Also Meets Societal Needs | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 2 | Without adequate language skills, people can neither fully participate in their local and national communities nor can they meet their full potential. | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 3 | ...both economically and socially | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 5 | ESOL learners...can...integrate economically and socially | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 7 | Full participation in Scottish society and the economy | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 7 | Provision which supports and encourages routes into further learning, employment and in local community life | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 7 | Contribution...to society and the economy | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 8 | Social, political and economic factors impact on ESOL provision | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 8 | ..access to services, further training for work, and helping them to support their families. | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 8 | ...become full and active citizens...make an important contribution to the economic success of Scotland. | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 8 | ...great returns personally, socially and economically | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 8 | ...not just a strategy for improved economic performance...also an effective way of improving the satisfaction and security of work, promoting health and well-being of individuals and enhancing the fabric of our communities. | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 10 | ...jobs and growth and...helping to address inequality issues that impact on employability. | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 13 | ...improve young people's transition into sustainable employment...potentially benefit those at risk of disengaging economically because of language barriers | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 15 | ...use their language skills for everyday life and work | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |
| 15 | ...to be able to communicate with parents and staff in their children's school, to start new careers or find a job | Economic issue + social issue | Achieving economic goals also benefits society. |

| 2. Meeting Individual Needs Also Meets Community Needs | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 2 | ...to enable participation and integration in Scottish life through work, study, family and local community. | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 4 | ESOL learning equips those residents with the communication skills necessary to contribute and integrate economically, culturally and socially. | ESOL + positive change verb | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 5 | ...personal life, family life, working life and community life | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 5 | [ESOL helps learners to] overcome changes, enhance health and well-being, reduce isolation, increase employability and support integration | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 6 | ...in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, | Personal context conflated with | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |

| | | | |
|----|--|---|--|
| | Scottish society and the economy. | wider context | |
| 7 | Provision which...promotes attainment and personal and social achievement | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 8 | ...become full and active citizens...make an important contribution to the economic success of Scotland. | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 8 | ...great returns personally, socially and economically | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 8 | ...not just a strategy for improved economic performance...also an effective way of improving the satisfaction and security of work, promoting health and well-being of individuals and enhancing the fabric of our communities. | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 10 | ...empower people, individually and collectively, to make positive changes in their lives and in their communities | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 21 | ...a positive impact on them, their families and their communities. | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 21 | ESOL learners transform their lives and communities...in personal, work, family and community settings | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |
| 21 | ...at local and national levels | Personal context conflated with wider context | Meeting individual needs also meets national needs |

| 3. Diminishing Government Responsibility | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 2 | Learning should be designed to meet the needs and aspirations of people. | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | Without adequate language skills, people can neither fully participate in their local and national communities nor can they meet their full potential. | 3 rd person (people) to distance gov't from the problem | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | The Scottish government is working collaboratively... | Government + others | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | The Scottish government is...ensuring through our education system that our young people...; that we are working with schools, colleges... | Mixing exclusive and inclusive "We" to create ambiguity | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | We are working with schools, colleges and employers | Multiple agents | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | The strategic direction...is framed within the objectives set | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | It is vital that everyone involved in ESOL...work in partnership to maximise the resources available to share best practice. | De-identification of gov't as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 2 | Employers must also play their part | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 3 | Public services are adapting to reduced funding | De-identification of gov't as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 3 | The views...were captured | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 3 | The views of learners, providers and wider stakeholders were captured | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 3 | Public services are adapting to reduced funding | De-identification of gov't as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 3 | ESOL provision is seen by learners, providers and stakeholders as a crucial part of public services | Multiple agents | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 5 | [ESOL learners' talents] can be maximised | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 5 | Much of publicly funded provision is delivered through local partnerships | Passive structure + other agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 5 | ESOL provision is offered by a range of providers | Passive structure + other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |

| | | | |
|----|--|--|--|
| 5 | Providers use a range of learning approaches | Providers + dynamic verb | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 8 | ESOL...has a significant role in the delivery of a range of policies and strategies developed since 2007. | ESOL (not government) + change verbs | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 9 | Public spending is under greater pressure than ever before | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 9 | A focus on early intervention and employability all reflect public service reform | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 10 | Providers and practitioners report that... | Other subject as agent Providers + dynamic verb | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 10 | Providers also report... | Other subject as agent Providers + dynamic verb | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 10 | The Strategic Guidance for Community Planning Partnerships: Community Learning and Development (2012) gives a clear statement...and recognises that this aim can be achieved through...ESOL. | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 11 | The requirements for Community Learning and Development (Scotland) Regulations (2013) requires local authorities to... | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 11 | The local authority must involve and consult | Provider + modal verb of obligation +dynamic verbs | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 12 | The New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities (2013) strategy identifies the need... | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 12 | The Adult Learning in Scotland Statement of Ambition (2014) aspires to three core principles... | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 12 | The new Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) ESOL qualifications support the implementation of Curriculum for Excellence. | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 13 | The national youth work strategy...contributes to the agenda... | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 13 | The Commission for Developing the Young Workforce (2014) brings forward a range of recommendations | Other subject as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 13 | The regionalisation of colleges | Absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 13 | Providers report... | Other subject (provider) as agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 14 | Points that were raised in feedback and discussions with learners | Passive structure, stakeholders as agents | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 14 | Points that were raised in feedback and discussions with learners | Passive structure, stakeholders as agents | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 15 | National developments to support learning and teaching include... | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 15 | Learners and providers...reported that... | Learners and providers as subjects | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 15 | Learning Community inspection findings note... | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 15 | Providers have seen the success of embedding SQA ESOL qualifications in provision | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 19 | Education Scotland's ESOL Aspect Task Report...highlights the effectiveness... | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 19 | The SQA ESOL qualifications have provided a framework | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 20 | The engagement process with learners, practitioners, providers and stakeholders highlighted areas for improvement | Other subjects | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 20 | ESOL provision...should be considered in all public planning | Passive structure with modal, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 20 | Other policy areas and reports have highlighted the importance of ESOL | Other subjects | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 20 | ...discussions and communications with learners, practitioners, providers and wider stakeholders | Stakeholders as subjects | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 20 | Barriers to provision are addressed | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 21 | Relevant and appropriate provision is delivered | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 21 | Provision is mapped | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 21 | Learners' views are represented | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 21 | ESOL learners are effectively supported in their learning journeys | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 22 | ESOL practitioners are supported | Passive structure, absent agent | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 23 | Education Scotland will identify learners, key partners and providers | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 23 | Education Scotland will seek commitment from learners, key partners and providers | Other subject | Removing/reducing/diluting government responsibility |
| 4. Shared Values Between Government and People | | | |
| 2 | I am committed to the principle that everyone in Scotland has the right to access high quality learning. | External pronoun + incontrovertible statement | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 2 | Learning...should include the ability to communicate effectively. | Incontrovertible statement/shared vision expressed through modality | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 3 | We know more about the ESOL provision...refreshing the strategy re-affirms our vision...and challenges us to continue to aim for high quality... | Mixing exclusive and inclusive "We" to create ambiguity | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 4 | ESOL...can have a positive impact on children and young people...as they move into further learning or employment...and adults themselves | ESOL + change verb | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 4 | The right kind of ESOL learning... | Platitude | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 7 | Provision which is high quality, easily accessible, cost-effective and uses best practice | Incontrovertible statement | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 8 | ESOL provision plays a vital role in improving the life chances of people | ESOL + positive change verbs | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 10 | The Government's languages policy...We, as a nation, should celebrate this diversity | Mixing inclusive and exclusive "we" to create ambiguity | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 10 | This diversity includes Scotland's own languages... | Scottish nationals as stakeholders | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 14 | ...achieve the vision by...raising quality... | Incontrovertible statement | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 14 | ...achieve the vision by...supporting learning and progression | Incontrovertible statement | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 14 | ESOL has an important role to play in relation to the development of early language skills. | ESOL + positive change verbs | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 22 | Every ESOL practitioner...should have a relevant specialist qualification | Shared (incontrovertible) vision expressed with modality | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| 22 | ESOL practitioners will engage in career long professional learning | Shared (incontrovertible) vision expressed with modality | Government values and people's values are 1 and the same |
| Agency 1: Government As Agent of Change | | | |
| 10 | ...the government's languages policy. | 3 rd person | Government as agent of change |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|-------------------------------|
| | | distinguishes government from people | |
| 10 | ...the government's employability and economic strategies. | 3 rd person distinguishes government from people | Government as agent of change |
| 22 | Our objectives...we reiterate the points | Exclusive "we" to distinguish government from people | Government as agent of change |
| 22 | By supporting language and communication skills, this strategy helps... | Policy + helping verbs | Government as agent of change |
| Agency 2: Providers as Agents of Change | | | |
| 3 | ...the expectation that providers will look at this broader context to inform the direction of provision. | Providers + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 5 | Providers work in partnership to improve coordination and delivery | Collaboration + positive change verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 5 | Providers use a range of learning approaches | Providers + dynamic verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 5 | Many providers work with learners | Providers + dynamic verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 7 | Provision which supports migrant and refugee settlement | Providers + help verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 7 | Provision which supports...full participation | Providers + help verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 8 | Provision which supports ESOL learners to find employment | Providers + help verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 11 | [Local authorities are required to] initiate, maintain and facilitate a process which ensures...identifies...considers...assesses...identifies... | Provider + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 11 | Providers offer ESOL provision that supports learners | Provider + helping verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 14 | ...improving collaboration and co-ordination | Collaboration + positive change verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 14 | ...Improving collaboration and coordination of ESOL provision | Collaboration + dynamic, positive verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 14 | Strong successful partnership working between providers which has led to improved co-ordination and delivery of ESOL provision | Collaboration + dynamic, positive verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 14 | Stronger partnership working has helped to improve...has also enabled...improved...helped to avoid... | Collaboration + dynamic/positive/helping verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 14 | ...increased partnership working with schools focusing on support for parents | Collaboration + helping verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 15 | ESOL learning has increased the confidence of learners | ESOL + positive change verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 16 | Practitioners have continued to develop professionally | Providers + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 16 | Practitioners have actively sought further information and professional development opportunities | Providers + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 16 | Colleges have responded | Provider + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 16 | ...offered widely by providers | Provider + dynamic verbs | Providers as agents of change |
| 19 | Schools are beginning to look at other ways to support pupils | Provider + dynamic verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 19 | Partnerships have supported progression routes | Collaboration + helping verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 20 | Effective partnerships exist between ESOL partners | Collaboration | Providers as agents of change |
| 20 | Providers offer more flexible approaches to provision | Providers + helping verb | Providers as agents of change |
| 22 | ESOL practitioners...effectively support learners | Providers + helping verb | Providers as agents of change |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 22 | ESOL provision helps to advance equality of opportunity | Providers + helping verb | Providers as agents of change |
| Agency 3: Learners as "Agile Bodies" (Agents of Own Change) | | | |
| 4 | ...parents, carers, workers and adult learners recognise the need and benefits of living and working in Scotland | Learners + state verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (need for agency) |
| 5 | ESOL learners in Scotland have a range of skills, talents and knowledge | Learners + state verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 5 | ESOL learners...can...fulfil their potential and...contribute and integrate | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 5 | ESOL learners have a variety of reasons for learning English | Learners + state verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (required agency) |
| 6 | ...acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 7 | The contribution that New Scots make | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 8 | ...opportunities for individuals to develop and use their skills | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 10 | ...increasing the efforts of those on out of work benefits to move into work. | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (required agency) |
| 10 | ...new benefit conditionality requires [jobseekers] to undertake learning | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (required agency) |
| 11 | Applicants must demonstrate a particular level of English | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (required agency) |
| 11 | Those applying for citizenship or settlement are also required to pass the Knowledge of Language and Life in the UK test | Learners + obligation/expectation | Learners as "agile bodies" (required agency) |
| 16 | Learners are also seen to be volunteering in their local communities. | Learners + dynamic verb Passive structure, absent agent | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 16 | ...improved employment prospects is the main reason for many learners accessing ESOL provision. | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 16 | ...learners' reasons for improving their English language skills, i.e. to help them find a job or improve their language skills for their job or progress in their job | Learners + expressed need | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 19 | Personal learning plans...encourage learners to take responsibility for their own learning and progression | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 19 | ...smoother referral pathways for individuals to access the right kind of learning for them. | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (assumed agency) |
| 20 | ESOL learners access and recognise learning opportunities | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | ESOL learners co-design their learning experience | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | ESOL learners transform...through learning choices | Learners + dynamic verb | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | Learners become active citizens and get involved in their communities fostering conditions for integration | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | Learners apply their language learning skills...through adopting active learning approaches to English language learning | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | ESOL learners effectively influence strategy and policy | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (hoped-for agency) |
| 21 | Provision...results in learners being responsible multilingual citizens and effective communicators | Learners + dynamic verbs | Learners as "agile bodies" (but agility facilitated by providers) (hoped-for agency) |

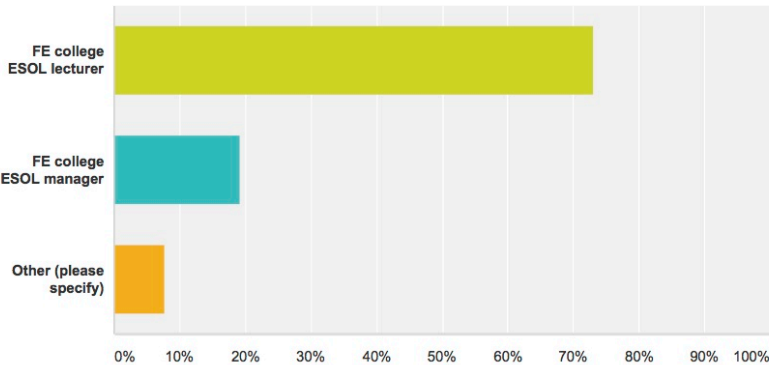
APPENDIX B: Collated Questionnaire Responses from College ESOL Practitioners

The role of college ESOL Programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland

SurveyMonkey

Q1 Part 1: Your professional background and experience
What is your current job?
Please select:

Answered: 52 Skipped: 2

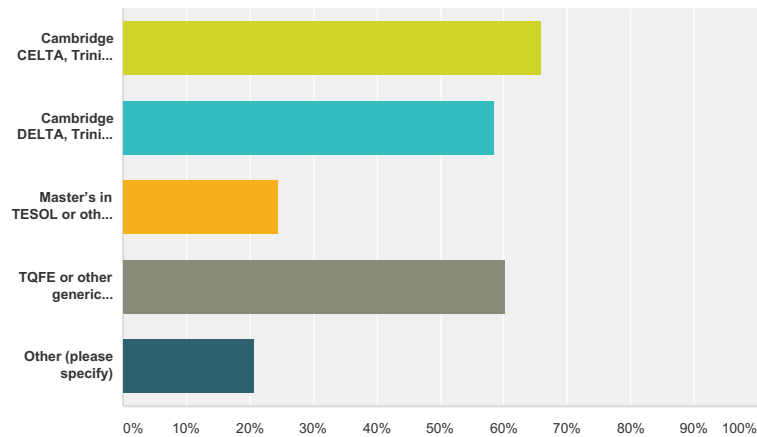


| Answer Choices | Responses |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| FE college ESOL lecturer | 73.08% 38 |
| FE college ESOL manager | 19.23% 10 |
| Other (please specify) | 7.69% 4 |
| Total | 52 |

| # | Other (please specify) | Date |
|---|---|-------------------|
| 1 | classroom assistant | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 2 | FE college lecturer and course leader and teacher trainer | 1/12/2017 3:59 PM |
| 3 | Senior Lecturer | 1/9/2017 11:42 AM |
| 4 | Private Tesol training company owner | 1/5/2017 9:18 AM |

Q2 Please tick the teaching/academic qualifications that you hold:

Answered: 53 Skipped: 1

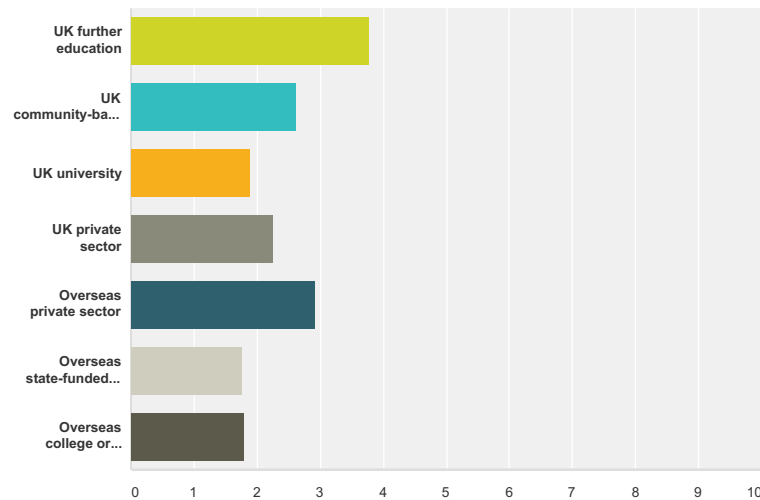


| Answer Choices | Responses |
|---|-----------|
| Cambridge CELTA, Trinity CertTESOL or equivalent. | 66.04% 35 |
| Cambridge DELTA, Trinity DipTESOL or equivalent. | 58.49% 31 |
| Master's in TESOL or other related subject. | 24.53% 13 |
| TQFE or other generic teaching qualification. | 60.38% 32 |
| Other (please specify) | 20.75% 11 |
| Total Respondents: 53 | |

| # | Other (please specify) | Date |
|----|--|--------------------|
| 1 | PDA ESOL Literacies | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 2 | ITAL, BA Dramatic Studies | 1/13/2017 2:03 PM |
| 3 | SQA ESOL Literacies PDA | 1/11/2017 10:36 AM |
| 4 | TEFL | 1/9/2017 12:21 PM |
| 5 | SQA PDA Literacies | 1/9/2017 11:42 AM |
| 6 | PG Dip Career Guidance. (NB CELTA is pending - due to complete 30/01/17) | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 7 | Post grad Diploma in Adult Literacy | 1/9/2017 11:20 AM |
| 8 | MEd in Teaching English as a Foreign Language | 1/6/2017 4:15 PM |
| 9 | Post grad cert in person centred counselling | 1/5/2017 8:15 PM |
| 10 | Post Graduate Diploma in Linguistics and English Language Teaching | 1/5/2017 2:21 PM |
| 11 | PDA TEACHING ESOL LITERACIES | 1/1/2017 6:47 PM |

Q3 Please indicate how much experience you have of working in each English language teaching context.

Answered: 53 Skipped: 1

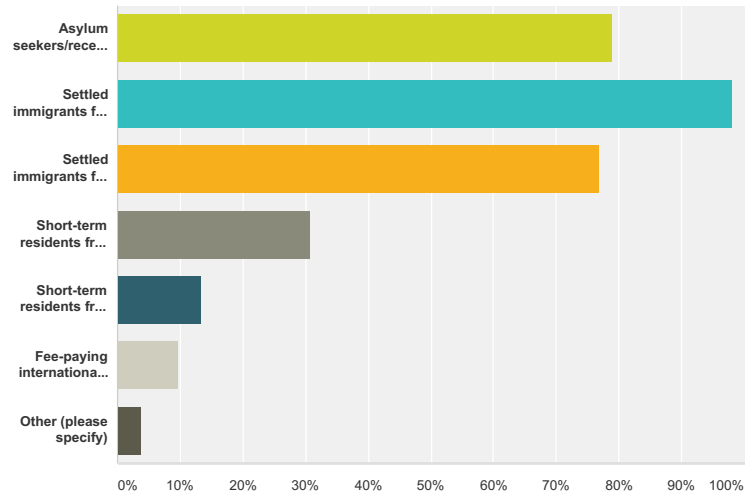


| | None | Up to 2 years | 2-5 years | More than 5 years | Total | Weighted Average |
|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|
| UK further education | 0.00% 0 | 5.66% 3 | 11.32% 6 | 83.02% 44 | 53 | 3.77 |
| UK community-based learning | 21.43% 9 | 23.81% 10 | 23.81% 10 | 30.95% 13 | 42 | 2.64 |
| UK university | 47.22% 17 | 27.78% 10 | 13.89% 5 | 11.11% 4 | 36 | 1.89 |
| UK private sector | 22.50% 9 | 47.50% 19 | 12.50% 5 | 17.50% 7 | 40 | 2.25 |
| Overseas private sector | 14.29% 6 | 21.43% 9 | 21.43% 9 | 42.86% 18 | 42 | 2.93 |
| Overseas state-funded education | 58.33% 21 | 16.67% 6 | 13.89% 5 | 11.11% 4 | 36 | 1.78 |
| Overseas college or university | 58.82% 20 | 17.65% 6 | 8.82% 3 | 14.71% 5 | 34 | 1.79 |

| # | Other Context (please specify, including length of experience)) | Date |
|---|---|-------------------|
| 1 | in-company courses - around 4 years | 1/9/2017 12:39 PM |

Q4 Part 2: Your Learners What kinds of ESOL learners do you mostly work with in your current job? Please select the most common categories from the options below, up to a MAXIMUM OF THREE:

Answered: 52 Skipped: 2

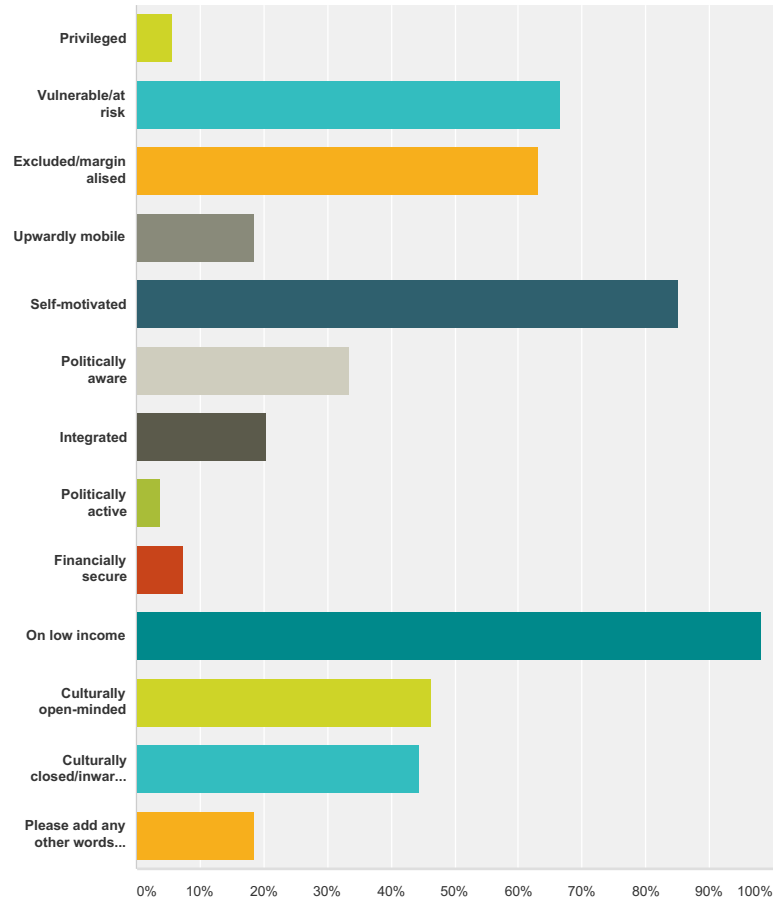


| Answer Choices | | Responses | |
|--|--|-----------|----|
| Asylum seekers/recently arrived refugees | | 78.85% | 41 |
| Settled immigrants from EU countries | | 98.08% | 51 |
| Settled immigrants from outside the EU | | 76.92% | 40 |
| Short-term residents from EU countries | | 30.77% | 16 |
| Short-term residents from outside the EU | | 13.46% | 7 |
| Fee-paying international students | | 9.62% | 5 |
| Other (please specify) | | 3.85% | 2 |
| Total Respondents: 52 | | | |

| # | Other (please specify) | Date |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | People who have been in the UK for a long time (20-30 years) but remained in their language/culture "bubble" e.g. pakistani wife and mother or chinese restaurant worker | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 2 | FE students | 1/9/2017 11:20 AM |

Q5 Think of the learners that you normally work with. How might you describe them?
Tick as many boxes as you like:

Answered: 54 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | Responses |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Privileged | 5.56% 3 |
| Vulnerable/at risk | 66.67% 36 |
| Excluded/marginalised | 62.96% 34 |
| Upwardly mobile | 18.52% 10 |
| Self-motivated | 85.19% 46 |

The role of college ESOL Programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland

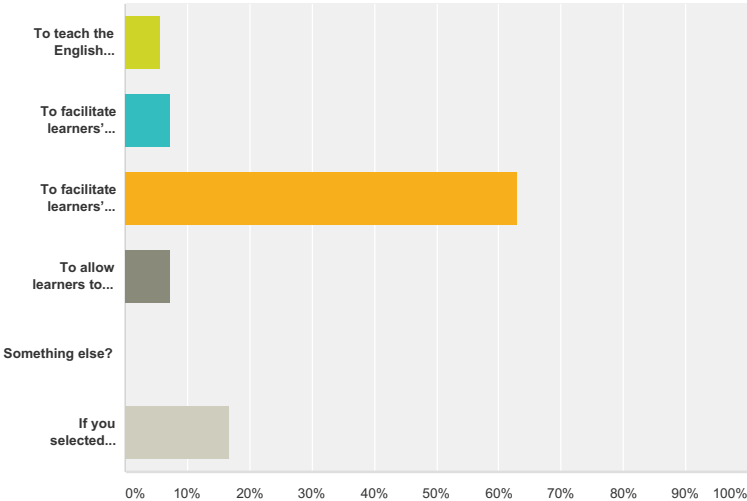
SurveyMonkey

| | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|----|
| Politically aware | 33.33% | 18 |
| Integrated | 20.37% | 11 |
| Politically active | 3.70% | 2 |
| Financially secure | 7.41% | 4 |
| On low income | 98.15% | 53 |
| Culturally open-minded | 46.30% | 25 |
| Culturally closed/inward looking | 44.44% | 24 |
| Please add any other words here: | 18.52% | 10 |
| Total Respondents: 54 | | |

| # | Please add any other words here: | Date |
|----|--|--------------------|
| 1 | determined | 1/30/2017 10:02 AM |
| 2 | Often exploited | 1/24/2017 11:34 AM |
| 3 | Cultural awareness is difficult to assess - for the purposes of learning English, from my experience, the majority of learners are able and willing to work with others in the class regardless of religious, political, social, gender differences. | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 4 | Students vary. EU migrants tend to be self-motivated and self-sufficient with a good understanding of how to study English as well as having more opportunities to practise English outside the classroom. They tend to learn English quickly. On the flip-side refugees and asylum seekers don't always have the study skills or opportunities to learn English outside the classroom so they tend to learn English more slowly. | 1/11/2017 10:36 AM |
| 5 | heterogenius, family oriented, | 1/10/2017 12:17 PM |
| 6 | typical student would be EU immigrant, mature learner, in low paid work, and often have moved here with family. Many are highly skilled and well qualified in their own countries, but work in menial jobs. There are a few international students, but numbers have dwindled. Refugees now trickling through, although fort contact is with community learning. | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 7 | I think a lot of students would like to be culturally open-minded but they're under pressure within their cultures to remain closed. | 1/9/2017 11:04 AM |
| 8 | Motivated | 1/6/2017 4:26 PM |
| 9 | Expatriate or temporary foreign/EU workers so with no intention of taking citizenship or living here permanently. | 1/5/2017 2:21 PM |
| 10 | There are mixtures within classes--no specific trend can be identified. There are certainly examples of each category specified here, but I have ticked the most common. The culture question is an interesting one: I wouldn't call many students 'culturally closed' but I have certainly seen potent examples of culture shock. These students tend to fraternise with likeminded students, even if they do willingly work with others. Tutorial sessions have led to interesting conversations about social mores, which in turn have also led to interesting class discussions. | 1/5/2017 11:39 AM |

Q6 Part 3: Your Teaching ValuesIn your opinion, what is the main purpose of ESOL provision in the Scottish FE sector? Tick only one option:

Answered: 54 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | | Responses | |
|--|--|-----------|----|
| To teach the English language. No more, no less. | | 5.56% | 3 |
| To facilitate learners' ability to make an effective contribution to the Scottish economy. | | 7.41% | 4 |
| To facilitate learners' ability to function more effectively in Scottish society. | | 62.96% | 34 |
| To allow learners to influence and transform Scottish society. | | 7.41% | 4 |
| Something else? | | 0.00% | 0 |
| If you selected "Something Else", please give your alternative answer here: | | 16.67% | 9 |
| Total | | | 54 |

| # | If you selected "Something Else", please give your alternative answer here: | Date |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | I cannot choose one option for this question because the answer differs depending on which level each learner engages with ESOL classes at. In cases of lower level learners who have recently moved to the country, I would say the main purpose is to help them to settle here and function more independently but for higher level learners then influence and contribution become more important goals. | 1/30/2017 10:02 AM |
| 2 | The process of learning a language and its efficacy involves all the above because learner motivation is a key element to the process. | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 3 | To equip learners (or to assist learners in their equipping themselves) with the language skills they want or need in order for them to engage in Scottish society in whatever (hopefully legal) ways they want. | 1/10/2017 1:17 AM |
| 4 | To help students to access, and function in, global English language communities. | 1/9/2017 4:26 PM |

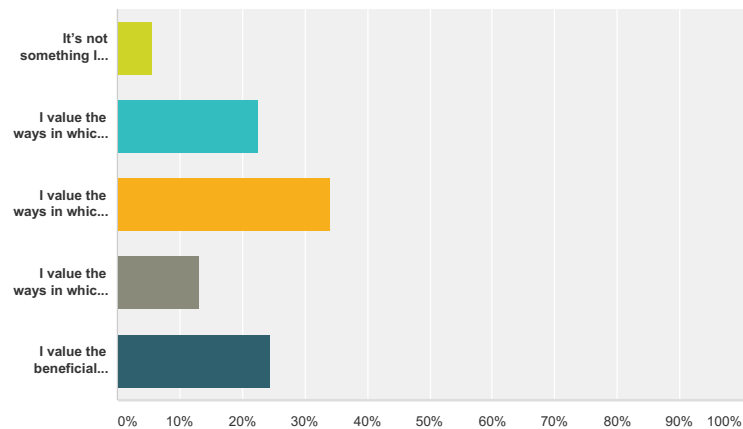
The role of college ESOL Programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland

SurveyMonkey

| | | |
|---|--|-------------------|
| 5 | To better their prospects and integrate into Scottish society by making their unique contributions to society as a whole. | 1/9/2017 10:09 AM |
| 6 | To teach the English language to individuals for their own use | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |
| 7 | to facilitate learners' ability to BOTH make an effective contribution to the economy and integrate into Scottish society | 1/6/2017 4:15 PM |
| 8 | To facilitate learners' ability to do whatever they choose to do | 1/6/2017 4:05 PM |
| 9 | to go where they want to go, and do what they want to do, to understand and then influence the society/world around them, and English is a tool in doing this. | 1/5/2017 2:21 PM |

Q7 To what extent (if at all) do you value the impact of your teaching practice on society? Please choose the answer that most closely reflects your approach:

Answered: 53 Skipped: 1

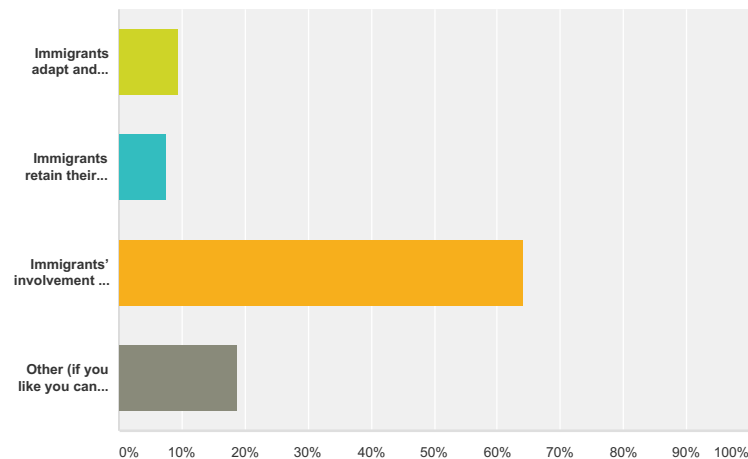


| Answer Choices | | Responses | |
|--|--|-----------|-----------|
| It's not something I consider much at all. | | 5.66% | 3 |
| I value the ways in which my practice can help my students in their current social context. | | 22.64% | 12 |
| I value the ways in which my practice can help my students to improve their position in society. | | 33.96% | 18 |
| I value the ways in which my practice can help my students to contribute towards the development of society. | | 13.21% | 7 |
| I value the beneficial impact of my practice on Scottish society as a whole. | | 24.53% | 13 |
| Total | | | 53 |

| # | If you have a different view or would like to comment further, please do so here: | Date |
|---|--|-------------------|
| 1 | All last 4 points would be valid. | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 2 | The middle three values all hold weight in my approach and don't seem mutually exclusive | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |

Q8 One reason for teaching ESOL to immigrants is to facilitate integration. What does the word "integration" mean to you?

Answered: 53 Skipped: 1



| Answer Choices | Responses |
|--|-----------|
| Immigrants adapt and conform to the existing norms of the host society. | 9.43% 5 |
| Immigrants retain their values and diverse groups live side-by- side according to their own norms. | 7.55% 4 |
| Immigrants' involvement in various aspects of life means their ideas and values are incorporated, so new social norms develop. | 64.15% 34 |
| Other (if you like you can give an alternative definition below): | 18.87% 10 |
| Total | 53 |

| # | Other (if you like you can give an alternative definition below): | Date |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | Immigrants adapt to various aspects of life while retaining their own particular set of values and ideas and participate in the host society. The ideas and values of both the new resident and the host society will be altered over time as a result of this participation. | 1/30/2017 10:02 AM |
| 2 | Option 3 is the closest but doesn't take into account the fact that immigrants do adapt and conform to existing norms to a greater or lesser extent if only because these norms are enforced by the host country's rule of law. | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 3 | I am close to choosing the first option. I believe that the adaptability of the person is a key to success e.g. "dial down" your "old" culture and language a little in order to make room for the "new" language and culture. I am not saying a person should ditch his/her "old" culture, but rather develop the ability to be circumspect about it. | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 4 | mix of all 3 to varying degrees | 1/17/2017 5:31 PM |
| 5 | question suggests this is not mandatory | 1/14/2017 12:02 PM |
| 6 | Immigrants can retain their values, understand new values and different aspects of Scottish culture and live with and among the Scottish population | 1/13/2017 2:03 PM |
| 7 | A mixture of definition one and three. | 1/9/2017 1:05 PM |
| 8 | retain their values but respect and follow the norms of the host society | 1/9/2017 11:20 AM |

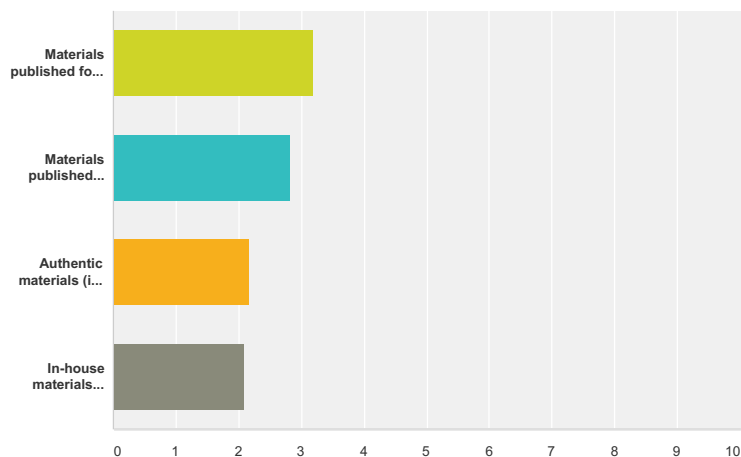
The role of college ESOL Programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland

SurveyMonkey

| | | |
|----|---|-------------------|
| 9 | Immigrants adapt and conform to the majority of the existing norms of the host society but also contribute towards the development of that society's norms, values and culture. | 1/8/2017 9:53 PM |
| 10 | Helping people become neighbours irrespective of their origins | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |

Q9 Part 4: Institutional Values What materials are used in your college's ESOL programmes? Please rank the materials below according to how much they are used, with one as the most common:

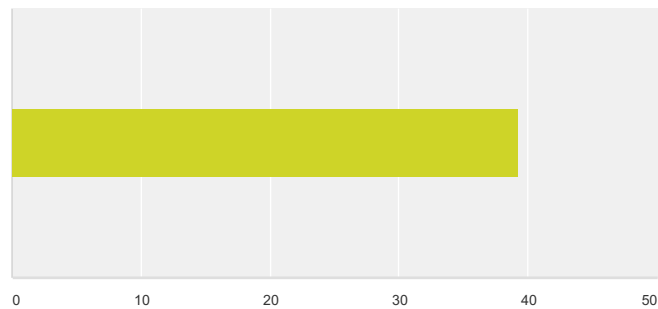
Answered: 54 Skipped: 0



| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | Total | Score |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Materials published for a global ELT market. | 56.82% 25 | 18.18% 8 | 13.64% 6 | 11.36% 5 | 44 | 3.20 |
| Materials published specifically for ESOL learners (including SQA support materials). | 33.33% 17 | 35.29% 18 | 11.76% 6 | 19.61% 10 | 51 | 2.82 |
| Authentic materials (i.e. not published specifically for use in the language classroom). | 8.51% 4 | 25.53% 12 | 40.43% 19 | 25.53% 12 | 47 | 2.17 |
| In-house materials (developed by your own college). | 10.00% 5 | 24.00% 12 | 30.00% 15 | 36.00% 18 | 50 | 2.08 |

Q10 In your college, how much freedom do you and your students have to choose course outcomes? Move the slider below:

Answered: 49 Skipped: 5



| Answer Choices | Average Number | Total Number | Responses |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| | 39 | 1,924 | 49 |
| Total Respondents: 49 | | | |

| # | | Date |
|----|----|--------------------|
| 1 | 50 | 1/30/2017 10:02 AM |
| 2 | 19 | 1/25/2017 11:19 AM |
| 3 | 25 | 1/24/2017 11:34 AM |
| 4 | 50 | 1/23/2017 4:24 PM |
| 5 | 14 | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 6 | 59 | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 7 | 69 | 1/18/2017 11:33 PM |
| 8 | 48 | 1/17/2017 5:31 PM |
| 9 | 49 | 1/14/2017 12:02 PM |
| 10 | 10 | 1/13/2017 2:03 PM |
| 11 | 71 | 1/12/2017 3:59 PM |
| 12 | 1 | 1/11/2017 5:43 PM |
| 13 | 28 | 1/11/2017 1:50 PM |
| 14 | 10 | 1/11/2017 1:47 PM |
| 15 | 20 | 1/11/2017 10:36 AM |
| 16 | 27 | 1/10/2017 12:17 PM |
| 17 | 0 | 1/10/2017 1:17 AM |
| 18 | 50 | 1/9/2017 11:23 PM |
| 19 | 7 | 1/9/2017 8:52 PM |
| 20 | 24 | 1/9/2017 4:26 PM |

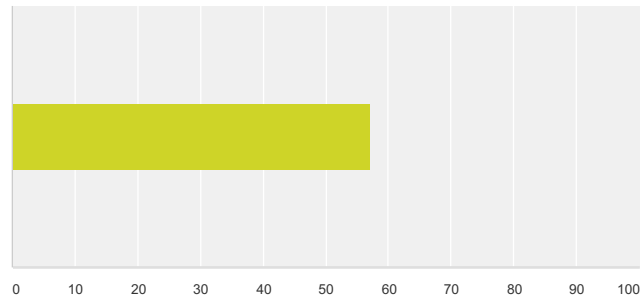
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SurveyMonkey

| | | |
|----|----|-------------------|
| 21 | 47 | 1/9/2017 3:48 PM |
| 22 | 67 | 1/9/2017 2:31 PM |
| 23 | 50 | 1/9/2017 1:21 PM |
| 24 | 0 | 1/9/2017 1:05 PM |
| 25 | 25 | 1/9/2017 12:39 PM |
| 26 | 40 | 1/9/2017 12:21 PM |
| 27 | 80 | 1/9/2017 11:58 AM |
| 28 | 70 | 1/9/2017 11:42 AM |
| 29 | 70 | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 30 | 91 | 1/9/2017 11:20 AM |
| 31 | 50 | 1/9/2017 11:06 AM |
| 32 | 50 | 1/9/2017 11:04 AM |
| 33 | 2 | 1/9/2017 10:37 AM |
| 34 | 52 | 1/9/2017 10:09 AM |
| 35 | 50 | 1/9/2017 9:47 AM |
| 36 | 60 | 1/9/2017 9:42 AM |
| 37 | 50 | 1/8/2017 9:53 PM |
| 38 | 69 | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |
| 39 | 0 | 1/6/2017 4:26 PM |
| 40 | 50 | 1/6/2017 4:15 PM |
| 41 | 28 | 1/6/2017 3:39 PM |
| 42 | 30 | 1/5/2017 8:15 PM |
| 43 | 0 | 1/5/2017 2:21 PM |
| 44 | 25 | 1/5/2017 11:39 AM |
| 45 | 54 | 1/5/2017 9:18 AM |
| 46 | 61 | 1/4/2017 9:22 AM |
| 47 | 50 | 1/3/2017 11:37 PM |
| 48 | 52 | 1/3/2017 10:09 PM |
| 49 | 20 | 1/1/2017 6:47 PM |

Q11 In your college, how much freedom do you and your students have to decide on course content? Move the slider below:

Answered: 54 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | Average Number | Total Number | Responses |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| | 57 | 3,085 | 54 |
| Total Respondents: 54 | | | |

| # | | Date |
|----|----|--------------------|
| 1 | 48 | 1/30/2017 10:02 AM |
| 2 | 57 | 1/25/2017 11:19 AM |
| 3 | 64 | 1/24/2017 11:34 AM |
| 4 | 50 | 1/23/2017 4:24 PM |
| 5 | 3 | 1/23/2017 1:47 PM |
| 6 | 68 | 1/23/2017 1:17 PM |
| 7 | 82 | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 8 | 71 | 1/18/2017 11:33 PM |
| 9 | 49 | 1/17/2017 5:31 PM |
| 10 | 41 | 1/14/2017 12:02 PM |
| 11 | 74 | 1/13/2017 2:03 PM |
| 12 | 90 | 1/12/2017 3:59 PM |
| 13 | 53 | 1/11/2017 5:43 PM |
| 14 | 50 | 1/11/2017 1:50 PM |
| 15 | 50 | 1/11/2017 1:47 PM |
| 16 | 73 | 1/11/2017 10:36 AM |
| 17 | 65 | 1/10/2017 12:17 PM |
| 18 | 69 | 1/10/2017 1:17 AM |
| 19 | 12 | 1/9/2017 11:23 PM |
| 20 | 35 | 1/9/2017 8:52 PM |

| | | |
|----|----|-------------------|
| 21 | 74 | 1/9/2017 4:26 PM |
| 22 | 69 | 1/9/2017 3:48 PM |
| 23 | 71 | 1/9/2017 2:31 PM |
| 24 | 50 | 1/9/2017 1:21 PM |
| 25 | 50 | 1/9/2017 1:05 PM |
| 26 | 52 | 1/9/2017 12:39 PM |
| 27 | 71 | 1/9/2017 12:21 PM |
| 28 | 72 | 1/9/2017 11:58 AM |
| 29 | 70 | 1/9/2017 11:42 AM |
| 30 | 70 | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 31 | 74 | 1/9/2017 11:20 AM |
| 32 | 50 | 1/9/2017 11:06 AM |
| 33 | 50 | 1/9/2017 11:04 AM |
| 34 | 5 | 1/9/2017 10:37 AM |
| 35 | 62 | 1/9/2017 10:09 AM |
| 36 | 70 | 1/9/2017 9:47 AM |
| 37 | 87 | 1/9/2017 9:42 AM |
| 38 | 60 | 1/9/2017 9:37 AM |
| 39 | 75 | 1/8/2017 9:53 PM |
| 40 | 61 | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |
| 41 | 35 | 1/6/2017 5:00 PM |
| 42 | 41 | 1/6/2017 4:55 PM |
| 43 | 39 | 1/6/2017 4:26 PM |
| 44 | 50 | 1/6/2017 4:15 PM |
| 45 | 50 | 1/6/2017 4:05 PM |
| 46 | 51 | 1/6/2017 3:39 PM |
| 47 | 45 | 1/5/2017 8:15 PM |
| 48 | 83 | 1/5/2017 2:21 PM |
| 49 | 66 | 1/5/2017 11:39 AM |
| 50 | 36 | 1/5/2017 9:18 AM |
| 51 | 52 | 1/4/2017 9:22 AM |
| 52 | 70 | 1/3/2017 11:37 PM |
| 53 | 50 | 1/3/2017 10:09 PM |
| 54 | 70 | 1/1/2017 6:47 PM |

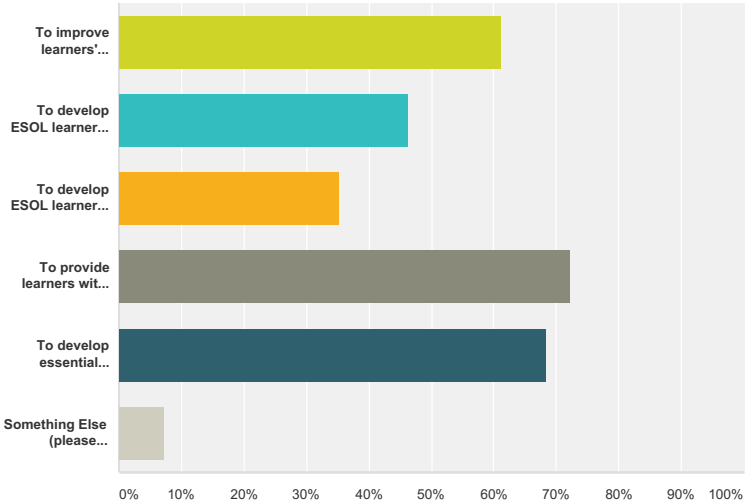
Q12 If you would like to make any further comments on the previous two questions, please write them here:

Answered: 13 Skipped: 41

| # | Responses | Date |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 1 | There is limited freedom for SQA courses but specifically developed courses are developed with different outcomes. | 1/23/2017 4:24 PM |
| 2 | for Q.10, the units are fixed, but some students can be unattached from the assessed unit and their soft success outcome is acknowledged. Our main KPI problem is retention. The ones we keep, mostly pass, and we as managers make this work when it comes to performance review time. | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 3 | Outcomes are pretty much tied to SQA. Content is then dependent on SQA assessments. When not preparing students for assessment, we can choose to do whatever the students wish us to teach them/we think would benefit them. | 1/11/2017 10:36 AM |
| 4 | Passing the outcomes is very important to the students. Interesting authentic materials with local and historical relevance are important for motivation of students tired after usually 12 hr shift work in tough conditions. | 1/10/2017 12:17 PM |
| 5 | A lot of the content ties into SQA assessments. | 1/9/2017 1:21 PM |
| 6 | The new model of funding based on credits has had some impact, but more operational than anything. As long as we meet credit targets we have a large degree of autonomy on content. | 1/9/2017 11:25 AM |
| 7 | If the students are participating in SQA courses, there is very little freedom in choosing course outcomes. | 1/9/2017 11:04 AM |
| 8 | Content and outcomes influenced by SQA specifications. Delivery influenced by funding requirements of Scottish Funding Council eg require College to deliver SQA accredited courses. | 1/9/2017 10:37 AM |
| 9 | Whilst aiming for an SQA qualification imposes some strictures the task of providing useful skills and workable vocabulary sets define content | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |
| 10 | Mostly I don't have much scope as I have to get them through SQA or Cambridge exams so the materials have to be really specific, however, I always try to find time to incorporate additional materials that students have requested. | 1/6/2017 3:39 PM |
| 11 | Students need to achieve units and depending on the units this can be more or less constraining. I do not have a course to follow however. | 1/5/2017 8:15 PM |
| 12 | Content can be flexible for the needs of students, but course units, outcomes and assessments are firmly set. | 1/5/2017 11:39 AM |
| 13 | Quite a lot of freedom in terms of lesson content, but the actual outcomes are pretty fixed. | 1/1/2017 6:47 PM |

Q13 Think about how your college’s ESOL programmes are designed. What would you say is the main focus of these programmes? Please tick a MAXIMUM OF THREE reasons:

Answered: 54 Skipped: 0

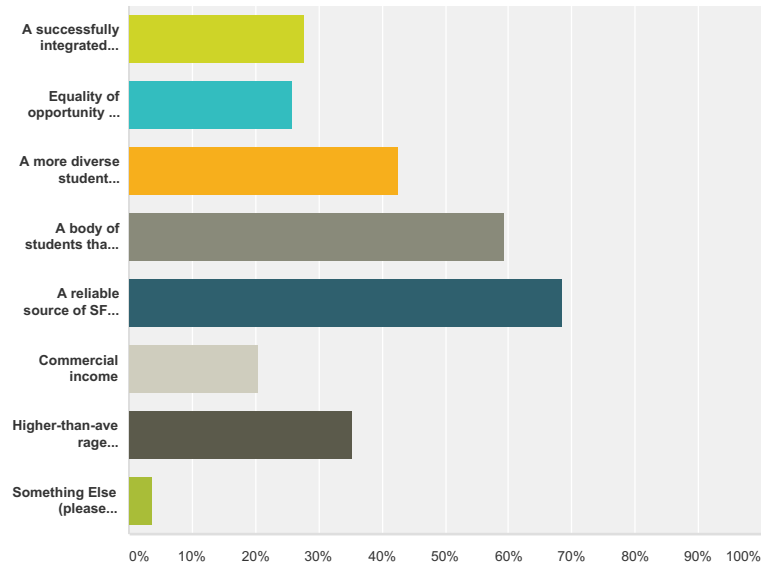


| Answer Choices | | Responses | |
|---|--|-----------|----|
| To improve learners' grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. | | 61.11% | 33 |
| To develop ESOL learners' employability skills. | | 46.30% | 25 |
| To develop ESOL learners' ability to integrate effectively into Scottish society. | | 35.19% | 19 |
| To provide learners with accredited qualifications. | | 72.22% | 39 |
| To develop essential skills for life, learning and work. | | 68.52% | 37 |
| Something Else (please specify) | | 7.41% | 4 |
| Total Respondents: 54 | | | |

| # | Something Else (please specify) | Date |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | The content is a big part of course design, but course duration, course hours, mode of delivery and timetable choices is one of our biggest factors in order to maximise Success outcomes and minimise Withdrawals. | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 2 | It is a pity that so much of the ESOL course is taken up with preparing for accredited quals as I feel students would benefit much more from developing essential skills for future study and work. | 1/9/2017 11:04 AM |
| 3 | The college's programme values the SQA qualification, the lecturers tend towards developing competence in communication | 1/6/2017 11:57 PM |
| 4 | To develop what SQA thinks are essential skills for life, learning and work | 1/6/2017 4:05 PM |

Q14 What do you think your college values most from delivering ESOL programmes?
Please tick a MAXIMUM OF THREE outcomes:

Answered: 54 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | | Responses | |
|--|--|-----------|----|
| A successfully integrated local community | | 27.78% | 15 |
| Equality of opportunity for minority groups | | 25.93% | 14 |
| A more diverse student population | | 42.59% | 23 |
| A body of students that can be recruited onto other programmes | | 59.26% | 32 |
| A reliable source of SFC credit funding | | 68.52% | 37 |
| Commercial income | | 20.37% | 11 |
| Higher-than-average performance indicators | | 35.19% | 19 |
| Something Else (please specify) | | 3.70% | 2 |
| Total Respondents: 54 | | | |

| # | Something Else (please specify) | Date |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | I think we are a "necessary evil" sometimes. An easy source of SFC Credits at short notice and an easy way to say "look at our amazing diversity" | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 2 | The college values are not in keeping with my own | 1/13/2017 2:03 PM |

**Q15 This is the end of the questionnaire.
Thanks very much for your participation. If
you would like to add any further
comments, please do so below:**

Answered: 4 Skipped: 50

| # | Responses | Date |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | Very pertinent questions. | 1/23/2017 12:38 PM |
| 2 | I struggle with SQA for a variety of reasons. I'm not convinced that achievement of the outcomes necessarily equates to competence / proficiency on the relevant areas. This is especially problematic at the lower levels (e g 2). However, I greatly enjoy teaching ESOL in the Borders. Having been a lecturer in TESOL for many years, I call this practising the practice I preached ! Classroom-based, teacher administered assessment informed by principles of autonomous learning is a challenge! All this has more to do with educational ideas than Scottish society and integration of adult educated working people. Having written the above I repeat that the materials are a good beginning and the students like them. | 1/10/2017 12:17 PM |
| 3 | Interesting questionnaire; enjoyed taking part. However, Q9 is clunky, because materials developed by college are generally based on authentic materials. Also, 4 options in Q9 are quite close together as priorities -- we don't horribly neglect 1 or 2 of them at the expense of the others, so ranking x and 1 and y as 4 is substantially misleading. | 1/8/2017 9:53 PM |
| 4 | I am acutely aware that what I teach, what the students want to learn, and what the college expects, are not always in sync. | 1/6/2017 3:39 PM |

APPENDIX C: Questionnaire Themes and Responses

Themes

1. Views on the purpose of ESOL

- 1a. ESOL is valued for its societal impact.
- 1b. ESOL promotes individual freedoms.
- 1c. Empowerment is prioritised over emancipation.
- 1d. English language, in and of itself, is a valuable skill/reason for learning.
- 1e. ESOL as a potential source of emancipation.

2. Views on integration

- 2a. Rejection of assimilationist and segregationist models.
- 2b. Integration as an Inclusive model.
- 2c. Integration as a 2-way process.

3. Perceptions of ESOL learners

- 3a. Diversity of backgrounds and needs.
- 3b. ESOL learners are vulnerable/at risk.
- 3c. Diverse attitudes towards the host society.
- 3d. Assumptions about ESOL learners and motivation/agency.
- 3e. Impact of learner backgrounds/current situations on classroom practice.

4. Perceptions about institutional/external values

- 4a. Accredited ESOL qualifications are a barrier to “actual” teaching and learning.
- 4b. Concerns related to performativity.
- 4c. Impact of institutionally/externally-imposed values on educational choices.
- 4d. Conflicting values.

Questionnaire responses related to themes

1. Views on the purpose of ESOL

1a. ESOL is valued for its societal impact.

Q6: 34 respondents (62.96%) selected 'To facilitate learners' ability to function more effectively in Scottish society'. The second highest was 16.67% ('Something else').

Q6: 'To facilitate learners' ability to BOTH make an effective contribution to the economy and integrate into Scottish society' (from a manager).

Q7: Only 3 respondents (7.7%) selected 'It's not something I consider much at all'. This included the manager with no TESOL qualification and no experience outside the UK FE sector.

Q7: 13 respondents – 24.53% (but 38.5% of managers) selected 'I value the beneficial impact of my practice on Scottish society as a whole'. Does this mean they see ESOL as facilitating a more inclusive/cohesive society?

1b. ESOL promotes individual freedoms.

Q6: 'To equip learners (or to assist learners in their equipping themselves) with the language skills they want or need in order for them to engage in Scottish society in whatever (hopefully legal) ways they want.'

Q6: 'To teach the English language to individuals for their own use.'

Q6: 'To facilitate learners' ability to do whatever they choose to do.'

Q6: 'To go where they want to go, to do what they want to do'.

Q9: While all managers cited a published source as the main source of material, a reasonable number of lecturers (9 = 18.51%) said that authentic materials or in-house materials were their main source. This suggests some lecturers are responding to learner needs rather than using what is prescribed for them by their institution.

Q12: 'Mostly I don't have much scope as I have to get them through SQA or Cambridge exams so the materials have to be really specific, however, I always try to find time to incorporate additional materials that students have requested.'

1c. Empowerment is prioritised over emancipation.

Q6: 34 respondents (62.96%) selected 'To facilitate learners' ability to function more effectively in Scottish society'. The second highest was 16.67% ('Something else').

Q6: While only 7.41% selected 'To facilitate learners' ability to make an effective contribution to the Scottish economy', 15.4% of managers selected this option. Influence of DYW?

Q6: Only 4 respondents (7.41%), and only 1 manager, selected 'To allow learners to influence and transform Scottish society'.

Q6: 'In cases of lower level learners who have recently moved to the country, I would say the main purpose is to help the to settle here and function more independently but for higher level learners then influence and contribution become more important goals'. However this assumes English level and time in the country correlate directly, which they don't. What about low level learners who have been here for ages? What about high-level learners who have just arrived?

Q6: 'To better their prospects and integrate into Scottish society by making their unique contributions to society as a whole' (by a manager).

Q7: 18 respondents (33.96%) selected 'I value the ways in which my practice can help my students to improve their position in society. This was the highest response to this question.

Q7: A further 12 respondents (22.64%) – but only one manager – selected 'I value the ways in which my practice can help my students in their current social context'.

Q7: So more than half of respondents value the benefit of ESOL to the individual within existing societal constructs.

Q7: But only 7 respondents (13.21%) selected 'I value the ways in which my practice can help my students to contribute towards the development of society'. Significantly lower than options related to individual empowerment or the more global 'impact of my practice on Scottish society as a whole'. Does this suggest that emancipation is not something that ESOL practitioners consider much?

Q13: The largest number of respondents (39 = 72.22%) chose 'To provide learners with accredited qualifications' as a main focus of the ESOL programmes their institution delivers. The second most popular (37 = 68.52%) was 'To develop essential skills for life, learning and work.' The 3rd most popular choice was 'To develop ESOL learners' employability skills' with 46.3% (25) respondents.

Q14: 'Having been a lecturer in TESOL for many years, I call [delivering SQA ESOL units] practising the practice I preached! Classroom-based, teacher administered assessment informed by principles of autonomous learning is a challenge!

1d. English language, in and of itself, is a valuable skill/reason for learning.

Q5: 'Expatriate or temporary foreign/EU workers so with no intention of taking citizenship or living here permanently'. – Suggests no desire or need to "buy into" Scottish society. Emancipation less relevant (if at all).

Q6: Only 3 respondents (5.56%) selected 'To teach the English language. No more, no less.' This suggests that most practitioners see ESOL as more than just an academic subject.

Q6: 'To help students to access, and function in, global English language communities.' English as empowerment in global communities, not just Scotland.

Q9: 37 respondents ranked 'Materials published for a global market' at either 1 or 2. 25 (56.82%) gave it a 1. 69.2% of managers gave it a 1. Maybe Ls don't use coursebooks as heavily as their managers think they do?

Q13: 33 respondents (61.11%) saw 'To improve learners' grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation' as a main focus of the ESOL programmes at their institution.

1e. ESOL as a potential source of emancipation.

Q6: '...to understand and then influence the society/world around them, and English is a tool in doing this'.

Q7: 7 respondents (13.21%) selected 'I value the ways in which my practice can help my students to contribute towards the development of society.' Only a small number. However, 2 more respondents commented that they regarded this value as being as important as the others related to empowerment, and one explicitly stated that valuing these different impacts 'don't seem mutually exclusive'. Suggestion that learners can be empowered and emancipated at the same time...?

2. Views on integration

2a. Rejection of assimilationist and segregationist models.

Q5 additional comment: 'I wouldn't call many students 'culturally closed' but I have certainly seen potent examples of culture shock. These students tend to fraternise with likeminded students, even if they do willingly work with others'. Reliance on bonding social capital seen as an inevitable consequence of culture shock, but not a good thing.

Q8: Only 5 respondents chose 'Immigrants adapt and conform to the existing norms of the host society'.

Q4. One respondent described their learners as 'People who have been in the UK for a long time (20-30 years) but remained in their language/culture "bubble" e.g. Pakistani wife and mother or Chinese restaurant worker.'

Q5: 'I think a lot of students would like to be culturally open-minded but they're under pressure within their culture to remain closed.'

Q8: Only 4 respondents (7.55%) selected 'Immigrants retain their values and diverse groups live side-by-side according to their own norms.'

2b. Integration as an Inclusive model

Q8: 34 respondents – 64.15% (and 84.6% of managers) selected 'Immigrants' involvement in various aspects of Scottish life means their

ideas and values are incorporated, so new social norms develop'. This was by far the most common response. The 2nd was "Other" (18.87%).

Q8: 10 respondents felt the need to provide an alternative answer. Many of these alternatives suggest a modified version of the most "inclusive" definition provided.

Q8: However, only 1 manager (7.7%) felt the need to provide an alternative answer, as opposed to 22% of lecturers. Is the issue of integration something that lecturers consider/are aware of more than managers?

Q8: 'Option 3 [inclusion] is the closest but doesn't take into account the fact that immigrants do adapt and conform to existing norms to a greater or lesser extent if only because these norms are enforced by the host country's rule of law'.

Q13: Only 19 respondents (35.19%) selected 'To develop ESOL learners' ability to integrate effectively into Scottish society'. This was the least popular selection, and suggests that while they themselves might see this as a priority, their institution is perhaps less concerned with integration.

Q14: Regarding what colleges value most from delivering ESOL programmes, the values that focus on benefits to the learners and to the community rather than the college, scored very low – 15 (27.78%) for 'A successfully integrated local community' and 14 (25.93%) for 'Equality of opportunity for minority groups.' However, these were seen as more important by managers (38.5% and 46.2% respectively).

2c. Integration as a 2-way process.

Q8: 'Immigrants adapt to various aspects of life while retaining their own particular set of values and ideas and participate in the host society. The ideas and values of both the new resident and the host society will be altered over time as a result of this participation'.

Q8: 'I am close to choosing the first option [assimilation]. I believe that the adaptability of the person is a key to success e.g. "dial down" your "old" culture and language a little in order to make room for the "new" language and culture. I am not saying a person should ditch his/her "old" culture, but rather develop the ability to be circumspect about it.'

Q8: 'Mix of all 3 to varying degrees.'

Q8: 'Immigrants can retain their values, understand new values and different aspects of Scottish culture and live with and among the Scottish population.'

Q8: 'A mixture of definition 1 [assimilation] and 3 [inclusion].

Q8: 'Retain their values but respect and follow the norms of the host society'. (but what if their values conflict with those of the host society?)

Q8: 'Immigrants adapt and conform to the majority of the existing norms of the host society but also contribute towards the development of that society's norms, values and culture'.

Q8: 'Helping people become neighbours irrespective of their origins' – so it's about developing mutual understanding/respect/tolerance?

Q8: What is not answered in the above responses is who decides which norms/values can be retained by immigrants and which ones they should ditch? Also, who decides which of their values get incorporated?

Presumably these decisions still rest with the dominant culture...

3. Perceptions about ESOL learners

3a. Diversity of backgrounds and needs

Q5: All possible options were selected at least once.

Q5: 10 additional comments, suggesting that the wide range of categories provided was still perceived as not enough by a significant number of respondents.

Q5 additional comments: 'Students vary'. 'Heterogenius' (sic).

Q5: 'Typical student would be EU immigrant, in low paid work, and often have moved here with family...there are a few international students, but numbers have dwindled...refugees now trickling through'.

Q5: 'There are mixtures within classes – no specific trend can be identified. There are certainly examples of each category specified here, but I have ticked the most common.'

3b. ESOL learners are vulnerable/at risk.

Q5: 98.15% of respondents selected 'on low income'.

Q5: 36 (66.67%) of respondents selected 'vulnerable/at risk'.

Q5: 34 (62.96%) selected 'excluded/marginalised'.

Q5: Only 3 respondents (5.56%) selected 'privileged', and only 4 (7.41%) selected 'financially secure'.

Q5: Additional comments include 'Often exploited'.

3c. Diverse attitudes towards the host society.

Q5: 25 respondents (46.3%) selected 'culturally open-minded'.

Q5: 24 respondents (44.44%) selected 'culturally closed/inward-looking'.

Q5: 11 respondents (20.37%) selected 'integrated'.

Q5: Additional comment: 'Cultural awareness is difficult to assess – for the purposes of learning English, from my experience, the majority of learners are able and willing to work with others in the class regardless of religious, political, social, gender differences.'

Q5: Additional comment: 'I wouldn't call many students 'culturally closed' but I have certainly seen potent examples of culture shock. These students tend to fraternise with likeminded students, even if they do willingly work with others'. Reliance on bonding social capital seen as an inevitable consequence of culture shock, but not a good thing.

3d. Assumptions about ESOL learners and motivation/agency.

Q5: 46 respondents (85.19%) selected 'Self-motivated', though only 10 (18.52%) selected 'upwardly mobile'. This could mean ESOL learners have a strong desire to succeed but tend not to be very successful.

Q5: Additional comments: 'determined', 'motivated'.

Q5: 'Expatriate or temporary foreign/EU workers so with no intention of taking citizenship or living here permanently'. So not necessarily motivated by local/national issues/content.

Q6: 'The process of learning a language and its efficacy involves all the above because learners motivation is a key element to the process'. i.e. making content relevant to Ss' needs increases motivation (and therefore agency?).

Q8: 'I am close to choosing the first option [assimilation]. I believe that the adaptability of the person is a key to success e.g. "dial down" your "old" culture and language a little in order to make room for the "new" language and culture. I am not saying a person should ditch his/her "old" culture, but rather develop the ability to be circumspect about it. So agency/adaptability are keys to successful integration.

Q12: 'Passing the outcomes is very important to the students.'
Instrumental motivation.

3e. Impact of learner backgrounds and/or current situations on classroom practice.

Q5 additional comment: 'EU migrants tend to be self-motivated and self-sufficient with a good understanding of how to study English as well as having more opportunities to practise English outside the classroom. They tend to learn English quickly. On the flip-side refugees and asylum seekers don't always have the study skills or opportunities to learn English outside the classroom so they tend to learn English more slowly.' Does this suggest that having a job is a way of improving your English?

Q5, when discussing students who suffer from culture shock: 'Tutorial sessions have led to interesting conversations about social mores, which in turn have also led to interesting class discussions'. Example of a lecturer identifying and exploiting learning opportunities that go beyond language, and which are based on content that relates directly to Ss' current situations.

Q5: 'Expatriate or temporary foreign workers so with no intention of taking citizenship or living here permanently'. Reduced relevance of/need for an emancipatory approach.

Q6: 'I cannot choose one option for this question because the answer differs depending on which level each learner engages with ESOL classes at. In classes of lower level learners who have recently moved to the country, I would say the main purpose is to help them to settle here and function more independently [empowerment] but for higher level learners then influence and contribution become more important goals.' So there's a progression from empowerment to emancipation as English level improves. But what about people who have lived here for years and are still beginners? What about people who arrive as high level users of English?

Q12: 'Interesting authentic materials with local and historical relevance are important for motivation of students after usually 12 hr shift work in tough conditions.'

It appears from all of the above comments that learner backgrounds/current situations heavily influence their learning needs. However, there also seems to be a lot of diversity within classes, so this may make it difficult to address individual needs. Does content tend to focus on the needs of the majority, at the expense of the minority?

Emancipation (as an educational goal) is perhaps more relevant/useful to some learners than it is to others, depending on their reasons for being here and their level of vulnerability/lack of agency.

4. Perceptions about institutional/external values

4a. Accredited ESOL qualifications are a barrier to "actual" teaching and learning.

Q12: 'There is limited freedom for SQA courses but specifically developed courses are developed with different outcomes.'

Q12: 'Outcomes are pretty much tied to SQA. Content is then dependent on SQA assessments. When not preparing students for assessment, we can choose to do whatever the students wish us to teach them/we think would benefit them.'

Q12: 'If the students are participating in SQA courses, there is very little freedom in choosing course outcomes.' (but is this bad?)

Q12: 'Mostly I don't have much scope as I have to get them through SQA or Cambridge exams so the materials have to be really specific, however, I always try to find time to incorporate additional materials that students have requested.'

Q12: 'Students need to achieve units and depending on the units this can be more or less constraining.'

Q12: Even the more neutral of the comments related to SQA demonstrate a large amount of backwash of outcomes on content. Pre-determined outcomes lead to a pre-determined syllabus, which learners appear to have little input into.

Q13: 'It is a pity that so much of the ESOL course is taken up with preparing for accredited qual[ification]s as I feel students would benefit

much more from developing essential skills for future study and work.’
(but not for life, which is interesting.)

Q13: ‘The college’s programme values the SQA qualification, the lecturers tend towards developing competence in communication’. This implies that competence in communication can’t be developed through the delivery of SQA qualifications.

Q13: Alternative focus of ESOL programmes: ‘To develop what SQA thinks are essential skills for life, learning and work.’ General consensus in this and other comments (e.g. below) that SQA quals don’t develop the skills/language that students need.

Q15: ‘I struggle with SQA for a variety of reasons. I’m not convinced that achievement of the outcomes necessarily equates to competence / proficiency on the relevant areas. This is especially problematic at the lower levels’.

4b. Concerns related to performativity.

Q12 (from a manager): ‘For Q10 [freedom to choose course outcomes] the units are fixed, but some students can be unattached from the assessed unit and their soft success outcome is acknowledged.’ – suggests some kind of fabrication/gamesmanship going on to make sure the KPIs don’t look bad.

Q12 (from the same manager): ‘Our main KPI problem is retention. The ones we keep, mostly pass, and we as managers make this work when it comes to performance review time’. Not sure how they make this work, but again some suggestion that a bit of jiggery-pokery goes on.’

Q12: (from an inexperienced manager): ‘As long as we meet credit targets we have a large degree of autonomy on content.’ They get “left alone” as long as the overall numbers look OK.

Q13 (from a manager): ‘The content is a big part of course design, but course duration, mode of delivery and timetable choices is one of our biggest factors in order to maximise Success outcomes and minimise Withdrawals’. A preoccupation with performativity – this is what drives decision-making rather than pedagogical value.

Q14: Top 1, 2 and 4 choices are ‘A reliable source of SFC credit funding’ – 32 = 59.26%, ‘A body of students that can be recruited onto other programmes’ – 32 = 59.26%, and ‘Higher than average performance indicators’ – 19 = 35.19%. These are all related directly to KPIs or funding. Even the 3rd most popular selection – ‘A more diverse student population’ (23 = 42.59%) could be cynically viewed as performative as well, in that evidence of addressing the needs of minority groups is often viewed positively by Education Scotland.

Q14: The values that focus on benefits to the learners and to the community, rather than the college, scored very low – 15 (27.78%) for ‘A successfully integrated local community’ and 14 (25.93%) for ‘Equality of opportunity for minority groups.’ However, these were seen as more important by managers (38.5% and 46.2% respectively).

Q14: 'I think we are a "necessary evil" sometimes. An easy source of SFC credits at short notice and an easy way to say "look at our amazing diversity"'. So no real concern on an institutional level about the benefit of ESOL courses to the actual learners. If there was, maybe they'd put on courses when the demand increases, rather than when the college decides they need them.

Q14: 'The college values are not in keeping with my own'. Again, suggests a lack of concern on a college level for the learner and their learning.

4c. Impact of institutionally/externally-imposed values on educational choices.

Q9: All managers stated that published materials were their number 1 resource. While this may still leave a considerable amount of flexibility for lecturers to respond to learner needs, it also implies a pre-determined approach to content selection on behalf of the institution. This is more conducive to a banking model of teaching than any real collaborative learning/negotiated syllabus, and will restrict the capacity for co-creation.

Q9: Only 5 respondents (10%) cited in-house materials as their primary source of materials, though a further 12 (24%) put this at number 2. Still, this suggests that colleges are doing little to create materials that meet the needs of the learners at their individual institution, relying instead on published materials. Do they feel there's no need? If so, this must mean they think that existing published materials are sufficiently fit for purpose. Or do they just not have time? Is such activity not valued by colleges?

Q10: On average, respondents gave a score of 39 on the slider for freedom to choose course outcomes. Within that, scores varied from 1 to 91, with several scoring less than 10. So, huge variation in how strictly imposed the course outcomes are, but generally lecturers feel they don't have a lot of freedom in this regard.

Q11: On average, respondents gave a score of 57 on the slider for freedom to choose course content. Again, a huge variation from 1 to 90, but this time only one person scored below 10. Maybe notable that it was a manager who scored 90. Generally though, respondents feel they have more freedom to decide content than outcomes.

Q12: 'A lot of the content ties into SQA assessments.'

Q12: (from a manager): 'The new model of funding based on credits has had some impact, but more operational than anything.'

Q12: (from the manager who scored 2 and 5 in Qs 10 and 11): 'Content and outcomes influenced by SQA specifications. Delivery influenced by funding requirements of Scottish Funding Council e.g. require College to deliver SQA accredited courses.'

Q12: Any perceived value of pre-determined outcomes seems to be performative/instrumental. It seems to be more about gaining the qualifications than actually learning anything.

4d. Conflicting Values

Q9: While all managers cited published materials as the number one resource, 9 respondents (18.51%) selected either authentic materials or in-house materials. Some lecturers are perhaps not using the prescribed materials as much as their managers think they are.

Q13: While only 46.3% overall selected 'To develop ESOL learners' employability skills' as a main focus of ESOL programmes, the figure for managers was 69.2%. This suggests that more college-wide priorities coming from policies like the DYW are impacting on the perceptions of ESOL managers, though in practice their staff appear to be less aware of it.

Q6 vs Q13: The majority of ESOL practitioners view the purpose of ESOL as being 'to facilitate learners' ability to function more effectively in Scottish society' (34 = 62.96%), but they perceive the main focus of the programmes they teach on as 'To provide learners with accredited qualifications' (39 = 72.22%). For Q13, only 19 respondents (35.19%) selected 'To develop ESOL learners' ability to integrate effectively into Scottish society'. This implies that the societal benefits of ESOL are not highly valued on an institutional level, but they are highly valued by practitioners.

Q14: 'The college values are not in keeping with my own'. Suggests a lack of concern on a college level for the learner and their learning. Also indicates that values imposed from the top-down are in conflict with what this lecturer perceives as the values that should dominate.

Q15: 'I am acutely aware that what I teach, what the students want to learn, and what the college expects, are not always in sync.' Again, another example of conflicting values.

APPENDIX D: Interview Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Study:

College ESOL programmes as a potential source of emancipation for immigrant communities in Scotland

Researcher: **Steve Brown** (s.brown.5@research.gla.ac.uk)

Supervisor: **Prof. Bob Davis** (Robert.Davis@glasgow.ac.uk)

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand the reasons for the research and what it involves. Please read the information carefully and discuss it with others if you want to. Please ask if anything is not clear, or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide if you want to participate in the study or not.

Thank you for reading this.

The Study

The study focuses on the topic of emancipation. Emancipation is the process of moving from needing help to a position of strength. People who are emancipated are able to get involved in changing society. The study examines how ESOL programmes might help to emancipate people who have come to Scotland from other countries.

As part of the study, I will interview students from this class and ask them to give their opinions about emancipation and their ESOL course. I will interview each participant once, and each interview will last a maximum of one hour. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers in this interview; the important thing is for participants to talk about their own experiences and give their own opinions. During the study, I will also keep a diary. In this diary I will write about things that participants say or write during their ESOL course. Participants do not have to do anything special for this part of the study – it is important that they just act as they normally would on an ESOL course.

For this study, I am working as a student from the University of Glasgow. Anything you say or write will not affect your status as a student of West College Scotland. If you are worried about this you can talk to me or someone else in the college’s Quality department.

If you participate in the study, you are free to withdraw yourself at any time, or refuse to answer any questions. You don’t have to give a reason for this. You can also ask for any information that you have given not to be used in the study.

Confidentiality (keeping information private)

It is important that this study doesn't give away your private or personal information. Your personal details will be kept private and will not be shared with anyone. Your name will be changed, and any information that could let anyone know your identity will not be used in the study.

Please note that if I hear or read anything that makes me worried about any wrongdoing, or the possibility of people harming others, I might have to tell other people about this. Here is the University's official statement on this:

"Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies."

Using and storing information

Interviews will be audio-recorded, and I will analyse your comments to collect information for my study. I will keep the digital recording and a transcription of the interview in separate, secure electronic folders. The transcription will not include any information that can give away your identity.

In my diary I will write about things that happen in the classroom. I might also take examples from your writing (homework or classroom writing tasks) that can give me more information about the research topic. I will write about these things on a computer, and save them in a secure electronic folder. Any information containing your personal details will be kept securely until the study is finished, and destroyed by 31/08/2018. Anonymous data will be kept in a secure location in the university for 10 years after the study is finished. The university will destroy this, along with all other information related to the study, by 31/08/2028.

I will present the information from my study in a dissertation, which I must write as part of my course. The dissertation will be read by my supervisor and tutors at the University of Glasgow. It is possible that the dissertation, or parts of it, will later be published somewhere else. I might also use conclusions from the study to write articles or give presentations. Other authenticated researchers may ask for permission to access or use some of the information from this study. Permission will only be given if they agree to follow the same rules of confidentiality described in this document.

Your personal information will never be used in the dissertation or in any further publication of the study.

Ethical Approval

This research study has been considered and approved by the Ethics Committee in the University of Glasgow's College of Social Sciences.

More Information

If you would like more information, or if you would like to make a complaint about this research study, please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer at the University of Glasgow, Dr. Muir Houston:

Email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

APPENDIX E: Individual Profiles of Interview Participants

Jeet

Jeet was a young Italian woman whose family originally came from India. She grew up Italy and completed high school there, before moving to Scotland with her family about 6 months prior to the study taking place. Her parents had decided to set up a business in Scotland, which was their principal reason for moving here, though they also had extended family living in the Glasgow area. At the time the study was carried out, Jeet had a part-time job in a restaurant but regarded her main reason for living in Scotland as being to learn English, in order to broaden career opportunities and her capacity to travel more in the future. As an EU national, Jeet was able to live in the UK without a visa and also hoped to take advantage of her ability to live in other countries as a result of her nationality.

Omar

Omar was a Pakistani man in his early 20s. His father had lived in Scotland for many years but he, his mother and siblings arrived in Scotland two years prior to the study. Omar completed a college course in Engineering in his own country and hoped to continue his studies in Scotland, but needed to improve his English before he could articulate to an Engineering or other programme at a Scottish college or university. Omar had entered the UK on a family reunion visa and had not yet received indefinite leave to remain. His long-term plan was to gain British citizenship and remain in the UK.

Ugur

Ugur's family was originally Turkish but he had grown up in Belgium. A barber by trade, Ugur had originally moved to Glasgow to join his brother after visiting Scotland once and deciding he liked the people. Now in his late 20s, Ugur had travelled quite widely before arriving in Scotland, and

intended to move again at some point in the future. His main motivation for coming to college was to get some kind of formal grounding to support the English he had picked up informally through his work and everyday life. Ugur completed high school in Belgium and had no real motivation to further his academic qualifications, as he was happy working as a barber.

Yasmina

Yasmina's husband came from India to work as a chef in a restaurant in Scotland, and she joined him around 8 years prior to the study. By the time of the interview they had been given indefinite leave to remain in the UK, and had three children, all of school age. Her husband had his own restaurant, which she occasionally worked in, but Yasmina was interested in finding another kind of job in the future. However, she left school in India at 16 and realised she would need to improve her English before she could move on to attain further qualifications or complete vocational training that would allow her to find the sort of job she was interested in – possibly in the service or care industry.

Belem

In her early 40s, Belem had moved to Scotland with her husband and young son about 18 months prior to the study, as her husband was offered a job by his Spanish-based international employer. From Spain, her first language was Catalan, but she also spoke Castellano Spanish and studied English as a student at university. She worked in a tourist information centre in Spain and her employer gave her an extended leave of absence to allow her to move to Scotland. Her family had never regarded the move to Scotland as a permanent one, and her declared motivations for learning English were twofold; to broaden her opportunities while living in Scotland and to develop a useful skill that she could take back to Spain.

Christina

Christina was a recent Economics graduate from Italy, who had lived in Glasgow for around 6 months at the time of the study. She had originally hoped to get a place on a full-time course, but arrived after those courses had started. She hoped to develop her English skills to allow her to get access to a postgraduate course at a Scottish university, and this was her primary reason for coming to Scotland in the first place. However, she was becoming increasingly keen to make her stay in Scotland as long-term as possible. At the time of the interview, Christina was still relying on her family for financial support, but was looking for a job. Financial independence was key to her being able to stay longer in Scotland.

Agnieszka

At the time of her interview Agnieszka was in her mid 20s and had been in Scotland for about 18 months. She had a postgraduate degree from university in her home country of Poland, but had been unable to find a good job there so she decided to move to Scotland, where her friend was living. She quickly found a job, as a receptionist, and her own place to live. She regarded learning English as essential for improving her opportunities while living here, but also as a useful employability skill if she was to move to another context. She hoped to find a job more closely related to her area of academic expertise (Tourism and Geography) but felt the need to improve her English skills first.

Nuha

Nuha was a refugee from Sudan who had joined her husband in Scotland a year prior to her participation in the study. She had studied animal husbandry and food production at university in her own country and hoped to find work in a similar area at some point in the future. However, at the time of her interview, Nuha was heavily pregnant and she felt that her career aspirations would probably have to go on hold until her baby was older. In the meantime though, she was keen to improve her English

skills, which she saw as useful for everyday life and also as a means of improving her job prospects.

Phailin

Phailin was from Thailand and married a Scottish man over 25 years ago. They had lived in Saudi Arabia, where Phailin ran a Thai restaurant, but she had now relocated to Scotland because her children were all studying in or around Glasgow. However, Phailin did not yet have permanent residence in the UK and, at the time of the interview, she was classed as an international student and still made frequent trips to Saudi Arabia, where her husband was still working. Her husband's intention was to take early retirement and join her permanently in Scotland, where they had bought a house together. Phailin hoped to open another restaurant, and possibly a Thai cooking school, after her husband joins her in Scotland. Phailin was currently living with her youngest daughter, who she communicates with in English most of the time, and wanted to study English formally in order to develop her reading and writing skills.

Hamid

An Iranian Kurd, Hamid had come to the UK as an asylum seeker over 13 years ago, but had not been given leave to remain. His asylum application was refused soon after he arrived and, despite numerous appeals, he had not been successful in overturning this decision. His status in the country at the time of the interview was not entirely clear; it seemed that he was at risk of being deported back to Iran at any moment. As a failed asylum seeker, Hamid was unable to work and also unable to claim benefits. He had married a Kurdish woman with leave to remain in the UK, and they were expecting a baby together. They were relying on her welfare payments, which meant they had to exist on a very low income. Hamid's reasons for learning English centred mainly on his ability to function more independently while living in Scotland. He still hoped to gain leave to remain, which would allow him to work and to have more security.

APPENDIX F: Indicative Interview Questions

Self, Situation and Society

- What is your nationality/country of origin?
- What is your first language?
- How long have you lived in the UK/Scotland?
- What is your residency status here?
- Tell me about your reasons for leaving your home country.
- Tell about your reasons for coming to this country.
- Are you here with family/friends? Tell me about the people you live and socialise with.
- Tell me about where you live.
- What education/training/work experience did you have before you came to Scotland?
- Tell me about your job/your plans for future work/study.

Perceptions of Scotland and Integration

- When you first came here, what problems did you have? What kind of support did you get to help you to overcome these problems? Where did this support come from?
- What about now? Have your support networks changed? How has your situation changed since you first arrived?
- Do you see yourself as being “part of Scottish society”? What does that mean to you? How easy/difficult is it for immigrants to become part of Scottish society?
- Is integration about immigrants changing themselves to be part of their new society, or is it about society changing to accommodate immigrants? Or both?
- Whose responsibility is it for making sure immigrants integrate successfully? Who needs to do what?
- In what ways do you think Scottish society needs to improve? How can people help to make positive changes?
- As an immigrant to Scotland, do you feel you have opportunities to change/influence society? Is this/should this be important?
- What kind of contribution can you and other immigrants make to Scottish society? How important do you think this contribution can be for Scotland and Scottish society?

Perceptions of the Role of ESOL

- Why did you choose to come to college to study ESOL?
- What did you expect the course would be like?
- To what extent is the course meeting your expectations? In what ways (if any) is it different from what you were expecting? Are these differences positive or negative?
- The Scottish government wants ESOL courses in Scotland to help people to “participate actively in Scottish life”. What do you think this means? Do you think your ESOL course is doing this successfully? If so, how? If not, how could it do this more?
- Think about what you said before about immigrants helping to change Scottish society. Can/does/should your ESOL course play some kind of role in this?

APPENDIX G: Coded Interview Transcriptions

Themes Identified

The Integration Process

Benefits of bonding social capital and co-national networks

Dangers and disadvantages of a segregated society

How the host society facilitates integration

How the onus is on immigrants to adapt to new environment

How the host society could change/modify approach

Importance of mutual respect/understanding of differences

Diversity, Empowerment and Emancipation

Migration, diversity and impact on Scottish society

Individual empowerment within existing constructs

Individual empowerment leading to social transformation

Emancipation as a socially transformative act

The Role of ESOL

ESOL as a subject

How ESOL benefits the individual (in society)

How ESOL benefits wider society

1. Jeet

S: OK this is the 27th January 2017, and I'm here with XX, Hi XX.

J: Hello (laughs).

S: So em the first the first questions I'd like to ask are just about yourself, XX, you're, you have Italian nationality is that right?

J: Yeah I've got Italian nationality.

S: And so were you born in Italy?

J: No I was born in India, Punjabi, and I came in I moved in Italy when I was about 2 years old and a half, so, I grew up in Italy, eh, but I can understand and talk in Punjabi as well.

S: Right. What about reading and writing in Punjabi?

J: No, I can't, it's really difficult. Yeah.

S: So, if I asked you what your first language is how would you answer that?

J: Italian.

S: You'd say Italian?

J: Yeah.

S: Even though you do have some Punjabi?

J: Yeah but it's not a, a clearly Punjabi. It's, I learn with, eh, from my parents, so it's not a professionally.

S: OK, OK. Em, alright, so before you came here you kind of had this double identity?

J: Yeah

S: Would you say?

J: Yeah, I, I always say I'm Italian but I was born in Italy. In India sorry (laughs).

S: In India. OK, and eh, you moved here, what, in the summer is that right?

J: In the summer, in July, 9th.

S: So you've been here about, what, 6 months?

J: 6 months.

S: And so did you come here with your family?

J: Yeah, with my Mum and Dad. I've got a brother but he's still in Italy, doesn't come with us.

S: Right, OK, and so what, what was the reason for that then, why did your family decide to...

J: Because we were thinking about to open our own business and we was looking at different pays [countries], and we saw that here in Scotland and England there's ah very low percent of tax.

S: Ah!

J: So it's really Scotland is really open, is helpful for business.

S: OK

J: For starting business.

S: Right OK, and, was this more your parents' decision or..?

J: Yeah my parents but, for me, is really a, it's really good, to go in another pays [country], to learn another new things, ah, English language is really important.

S: OK

J: So, I can set up everywhere. Is difficult for my parents, so, I just, I'm focused on learning and studying, and they are focused on the business.

S: On the business.

J: Yeah.

S: OK. And have they started that business already?

J: No, eh, but they are learning they have to learn about law.

S: The law?

J: Mhm, the rules here because we don't know nothing, and we was thinking we have some relatives, but they are really busy in their jobs so in their own businesses.

S: OK so you've got extended family in Glasgow as well?

J: Yeah I've got some uncles and cousins.

S: OK.

J: Their families.

S: OK. So, so, in, in your sort of everyday life, I mean you're mixing with a lot of people from your family...do you?

J: Ah no. Just in the first days because we stay in their home, and then we are having our lives, we are living our days and they are living those days.

S: So you don't really see your extended family much?

J: No.

S: But you're still living with your parents, yeah?

J: Yeah.

S: Just the three of you?

J: Yeah.

S: OK. So, in a normal day, em, how much English are you using, how much Punjabi? Presumably you speak Punjabi with your parents?

J: Punjabi mixed with some Italian words! (laughs)

S: Right, OK.

J: It's really our language (both laugh) our own new language. We talk in Punjabi and in Italian but I often go out and I always watch TV in English with subteetles.

S: Subtitles.

J: Subtitles. And I go out to the I enjoy go to the cinema.

S: Right.

J: I read, I enjoy reading, and I like to be well informed so I try to read news every day, when I can. Now I'm really busy and I'm not doing lots of work by myself, not a lot of self-studies. But usually I choose two or three hours a day, of self-studies. Lots of grammar.

S: OK good.

J: Because if you are doing, if you have practice in grammar you have to do every day even you are going to forgot.

S: And are you working at the moment?

J: Yeah, in the restaurant but I think, mmm, 16-18 hours a week, not too much.

S: OK. What kind of restaurant is it?

J: Eh an Italian restaurant.

S: OK.

J: But I didn't, they are Scottish so just two the owners are Italian.

S: Right

J: And other staff are Scottish so I just speak in English, not Italian.

S: OK. Well, that's good!

J: Yeah.

S: OK, em, now you're quite young, you finished school...in Italy..?

J: Yeah I finished school one year and a half ago.

S: Right.

J: And I was doing other courses and the same [as?] here I was doing courses and working as well.

S: In Italy before you came?

J: In Italy yeah.

S: What kind of things were you studying?

J: Ah, English, French, languages (laughs).

S: You like language don't you, you like, you're quite interested in languages.

J: Yeah. I love travel so I try to learn the language I need to go in that kind of country.

S: OK. So you're interested in languages for practical reasons then?

J: Yeah.

S: OK. Eh, obviously if your parents are going to open a business here I suppose that the plan is for your family to stay here for a long time?

J: Yeah but now we are thinking to move, I don't know, here, or another country, I don't know. Me, personally, I think to move another country.

S: Really?

J: I don't know about my parents.

S: OK.

J: I think to go in German.

S: OK.

J: I already been in German.

S: OK, why are you thinking of moving?

J: For study.

S: OK.

J: Eh, I've got some friends here, and, here it's too much Indian here.

S: Really?

J: Mhm.

S: So you prefer to be living in a culture that is different from your own culture?

J: Not because I don't like my culture but the people, I don't like people when they talk...

S: OK, and is there a lot of that amongst the kind of Punjabi speaking community?

J: Yes, it's horrible. (laughs)

S: Ah. Just lots of gossip?

J: Yeah!

S: People talking about each other?

J: Yeah, if I go to the pub or if I go out with my friend who is, they don't, they didn't do or say nothing to me. But they are say something to my parents, and I hate that.

S: Ah, OK. So you feel like people are always watching you?

J: Mhm. (nervous laugh). Like there are cameras everywhere!

S: Interesting. OK, em, yeah that is interesting. OK so let's move on then and think about the situation when you first came here. Obviously you came here with your parents so you were able to support each other?

J: Yeah, we are a strong group.

S: That's good. Right, so, did you find, because obviously your English is quite good already, what about your parents do they speak English or did they rely on you?

J: Well my Mum is not really good, but she can explain, I don't know, with some words, some particular words, she can make the people understand she.

S: Understand her.

J: Understand her, yes.

S: So she can make herself understood.

J: Understood yeah.

S: OK, eh, so, when you first arrived, did you have to do a lot of the talking and the organising, I don't know like finding a place to live?

J: No because that was really done by my Dad because he came here before us, so, about 6 months before.

S: OK. And I suppose you had your extended family to give you help as well.

J: Yeah.

S: If you needed it.

J: Yeah of course.

S: OK. Em, did you have any sort of problems, do you feel? Kind of settling in? Or did you find, when you arrived here did you find, did you start to feel comfortable quite quickly?

J: No, it was not really difficult, but stressful, because I had to change a lot, changed lots of things in my life. But for me is easy. Is difficult for my parents (laughs).

S: OK. Why is it more difficult for them do you think?

J: Because they are older than me and I don't know, just because they know lots of things and I don't care about some things. They care.

S: OK.

J: But really we are really em, I've got lots of freedom in cont...comparing with other Indians or Italians so, my Dad as well, my Mum as well they are really open-minded and some people doesn't understand that.

S: Yeah. OK. I...that...tell me if I'm wrong...OK, but my feeling here from what you're saying is that you, your ideas about life and lifestyle seem to be maybe more similar to Scottish people than to the Sikh community...are you Sikh?

J: Yeah I'm Sikh.

S: Am I right?

J: Ah it's not about that, it's about just to live to do what you like to do.

S: OK.

J: Bec..I...in the our culture is beautiful, but some traditions comes into rules but they aren't rules. It's just people make of them that rules.

S: OK.

J: So I don't know, I know I have some good advice that my parents gave me, and some good rules...

S: Yeah.

J: I try to be honest, to be good to do my better. That's it. This is the life. But nothing else.

S: OK.

J: Is easy simple.

S: So, right, so for you if, well somebody says "I saw XX, she was..."

J: I don't care.

S: You don't really care about that. But, people are doing it, people are talking about you.

J: Always. In Italy as well.

S: Hmm.

J: Scottish people as well. All the people.

S: Alright, so it's not really just a, I was wondering if it was, eh, something that is particular, other people in your kind of community, sort of, "She shouldn't be doing that"

J: I was surprised by my relatives because we are the same family and there's some really different mind.

S: Mmm, OK

J: It doesn't, because my Mum's, my grandmother, of my Mum, is like my mother, the grandfather of my Dad is like my Dad, we are similar, you know? But they are really different, another life, I don't know, other rules.

S: Is that because they're here in Scotland? And your family grew up in Italy?

J: It's just because they are old-minded.

S: OK. Do you, is it, are we only talking about your family or do you think that's a more general thing?

J: No, more general. Old Indians here and the Pakistan are similar, quite similar, they try to be Scottish outside but they are really strictly inside their home.

S: OK. So they try to follow their traditions very...

J: Yeah, they have an...identify, I think, you need to be what you want, not to be what they want and their parents want or they people.

S: Or what they think they are...

J: Yeah they are doing all the things that other people are doing, it's normal.

S: Mmm. OK. But I find this quite interesting because I, I'm interested in this idea of integration and, you know, immigrants moving to Scotland and then, you know, becoming a part of Scottish society, and you're talking about your "Scottish" family, your Scottish Indian family, em, and you say that when they're outside their home they are able to integrate...

J: Yeah...

S: They're able to do things, but when they're at home they've got quite different ideas.

J: Yeah they're, they are doing their, they're practising their culture.

S: Mm.

J: But here in Scotland you are really open-minded. We can have all things we need, it's really, in Italy it's not the same...

S: OK.

J: ...em, we, there are lots of immigrants in Italy, lots of different cultures but it's not the same. Here's there's lots lots of Asian shops.

S: Yes.

J: You can find everything.

S: Ah, so it's easier perhaps to keep your...

J: Yeah!

S: Keep your own culture.

J: Yeah.

S: OK. OK. Eh, so if we think about this idea of integration, then, eh, it seems from what you're saying, it's maybe possible for somebody to come here from the Punjab...

J: To find easily...

S: ...to come to Scotland, and they don't need to change their life very much?

J: Yeah, it's just about the weather OK, you can used to, you can used to?

S: You can get used to.

J: You can get used to but nothing, you have all the things you need. More expensive OK but...

S: OK. So it's actually possible to live in Scotland eh, speaking Punjabi, going to the Gurdwara, you know, doing...

J: Yeah but you need English as well. You need something Scottish as well. Because we are in the earth OK, we are all similar, but that is another culture. If someone comes another pays [country?] in India as well or in Italy, they are, they have to know something about us.

S: Mhm. OK. So Scottish people...

J: Respect.

S: ...will need to learn and respect how the Sikh culture is, if you like.

J: Yeah.

S: OK. But then, the idea of people coming here and really just continuing with their own culture - is that Integration? Or is that, it's almost like they're just kind of living a separate...

J: Yeah

S: A separate life, or a separate community.

J: Yeah it's a, is an individual life.

S: Is that a good thing or is that OK?

J: It's not really good, actually. You have to learn about other people as well. So if you are learning the all things, you're doing the all things similar, not, nothing difference, eh, you are [stickly?] because you can't understand other people, your [why?] can be stronger for you, but for another people is nothing, it's not really powerful.

S: So maybe other people find it more difficult to understand?

J: Yeah, to understand each other.

S: Uhuh. OK.

J: They can find something really bad but I can't find that, not really bad.

S: So the way, you know if...if it's possible for people to come to this country as immigrants and continue a lot of their traditional cultures, or cultural values and customs that...are you saying that...does that make it...that can cause problems for them then? Because it means it's harder for them to...

J: I think so because they can't understand what are doing other peoples and they can judge. It's about judgement. You can't judge people, because you have to run in their shoes, walk in their shoes to, to have a conclusion.

S: I see.

J: So, I think you have to be really open-minded.

S: Right.

J: If you are going in another pays [country] you have to learn.

S: So whose responsibility is it to be open-minded..?

J: You, yourself.

S: The, the immigrants that are coming?

J: Yeah, of course.

S: What about Scottish people, I mean is it important for them to be open-minded as well?

J: Yeah because I told you it's the same, uh, we have some rules and we always together we have to do something.

S: Yeah OK.

J: Just respect. It's nothing else, just respect. See what I am doing...

S: Understand the differences...

J: Understand...

S: ...and respect those differences.

J: Yeah.

S: Is it important perhaps for Scottish people to understand the differences and then make changes to Scottish society, so that it's easier for people?

J: If they want, but it's not necessary.

S: Right.

J: You know, eh.

S: And should it be necessary, I mean should we, when I say "we" I mean Scottish people, should we be doing more to try to understand how other cultures work or..?

J: Some thing we can't understand, I think, lots of differences and sometimes we can't, we just do nothing, and just see and learn something and try to understand.

S: OK.

J: That's it.

S: And for, when immigrants come into this country, usually, this isn't always the same but taking your family as an example, people will come to this country because they want to make a better life for themselves.

J: It's about money.

S: It's all about money is it?

J: OK.

S: Well, so, that's maybe, you know that's fine, everybody wants to have a better life. Eh, but when they're, when people come here for their own reasons, is it important for immigrants to, to try to do something to make Scotland a better place, I mean is that their responsibility?

J: Yes, I saw lots of rubbish in the floor here. I think it's because there is lots of different peoples, but, I don't know, eh, in Italy, it's, I don't know what I'm saying, I lost the eh...

S: You were saying that you see a lot of rubbish in the streets and...

J: Yeah, it's because everybody are doing that.

S: Because they don't know the rules, or..?

J: Yeah, no! Because if I ah, see another, Scottish or Indian or American do that, they do the same.

S: I see. OK, OK. Em, do you think that immigrants can, I don't know, do you think there are things that immigrants can bring to Scottish life to make our society better?

J: Yeah, we can.

S: For example?

J: Eh, be more respectful?

S: Mhm?

J: ...for the environment. And eh, mm, do the things in the right way, so following the rules. Eh, don't know. Do something different, because we are different ways to do something, so be unique. Be really original. Different cultures means different ideas, innovation.

S: Yeah yeah, OK.

J: So if you are, if you can do more, have more original ideas. Don't forget your past and learn about your future.

S: OK, OK. That's very interesting. Alright, let's talk a little about your ESOL course because obviously you're studying ESOL here, em, on a part-time course, 9 hours a week, eh, you had already studied English before you came.

J: Yeah but it wasn't the same! It was the same hours I think, it was an American teacher, but the Italians try to, to do the, sorry, to follow the rules about, regarding Italian rules, so they try to make the same, to try to place...

S: You mean the same grammar rules?

J: ...yes the grammar to translate the same words in the same way. But it's not that, it's not like that.

S: Yeah the system of English is quite different...

J: Yeah the accent in Italian is really strong, we try to say the same things in Italian way.

S: Yeah OK, OK. So before you started your course here did you have an idea of what it would be like?

J: No.

S: You weren't very sure?

J: I was think it's more about grammar, like in Italian is it. We are doing just practice and reading, writing, grammar. No speaking, no pronunciation...

S: Right. And so is the, this course, is it what you expected or is it quite different?

J: It's more, not, it was different but in a good way, sorry.

S: In a good way?

J: In a good way.

S: OK. Eh, can you talk a little bit more about the differences, the things you're learning here that maybe surprised you, things that you did not expect to do?

J: You have the possibility to talk, to speak, with the other people, and you can heard good pronunciation, eh, we are, actually we are doing a lot of speaking here so I improve lots of my speaking skills and listening.

S: OK.

J: And that's good. You have to learn about first the speaking, yeah you have to learn about grammar as well but it's really important the speaking.

S: I see.

J: Do this in the same time. So you can do lots, lots of self-study alone, I think lots of people don't do that. But you can do really lots of work, and then you come here and you make it practice.

S: And you put it into practice.

J: Put it into practice yeah.

S: OK OK. Em, what about the topics that we do on this course? Em...

J: We are talking lots of actuality [news]. So that's good.

S: OK so things...

J: Things we can talk in the outside, with other people, so we have something to talk about.

S: Can you give some examples maybe of things like that, maybe topics...?

J: Like em mistakes, we can talk with anyone, in the train, what do you think about mistakes, and start a dialogue.

S: OK.

J: That's good.

S: Alright. So it's things that you can maybe use in real life, real situations..?

J: And charity as well, here everybody know about charity, it's really common, I like that, in Italy it's not the same we are always scared about give money to another people because we don't know where the money go. Often the money go in the wrong way, to the wrong person...to peoples.

S: Yeah, that does happen. OK so right so some of the topics so for example that idea of charity, em, yeah I mean that may be something that can help...does that help you to...not just learn about English but maybe also to learn about...

J: About Scottish, about your culture.

S: OK.

J: What do you like, what do you do.

S: And is that important for you do you think?

J: Yeah it's important. It is...

S: OK, em, the, one of the things, obviously this is a college, and so when we're doing our courses we have to think about what the Scottish government wants us to do, because they give us the money, so there is one thing in a policy document from the government that says that we, when we do ESOL courses, we should try to help people to "participate actively in Scottish life".

J: That's good. We already talk about that, we have to learn about your culture. Eh...

S: Yeah. What does that mean to you then, when I say "participate actively"?

J: Going to national days, national holidays, eh, parties, or, in Glasgow there's lots of pubs that are playing Scottish music.

S: Right.

J: It's nice.

S: OK. So it's about learning about how the society works and different parts of our culture and then participating in those events?

J: Yes.

S: OK, OK. Do you think that this course that you're doing is helping you with that stuff?

J: Yeah it's helping. Eh, the college are doing lots of different activities but I don't like the time, because it's in the afternoon like after the course and I have to go out and the house and then the work. So if it's in the evening and then the beginning or the end of the weekend it's more nice.

S: I'm sorry.

J: (laughs) me too!

S: It's your lunchtime sorry! OK so yeah there are things that you can do in the college but sometimes it's difficult because of time.

J: Because of time yeah.

S: But in the classes we're talking about topics which you think...

J: Yeah in the bathroom like the advice...

S: Uhuh?

J: In the bathroom because you can read, you have time to read, and there's lots of people who are doing some like the, skin, skin improvement..?

S: OK, like beauty...

J: Beauty...

S: Beauty therapy?

J: Yeah, beauty therapy, like that.

S: OK so you're getting to meet people that are doing other courses and things.

J: Yeah.

S: OK.

J: That's good.

S: That can be interesting. OK then. Now before when we were talking about integration and we talked about you know people who are coming to this country from cultures can maybe give something to help to change Scotland and maybe help Scotland a better place. Eh, do you think that doing an ESOL course can be helpful with that?

J: Of course.

S: Yeah?

J: You have to learn English, you have to speak clearly and fluently, you haven't to learn lots of vocabulary, just speak clearly and fluently and I think all the people want to do something here, something by like maybe own business or they want a good job. If you are studying you are want, your standards are high, so it's really important.

S: OK. So it's about helping people to become more independent?

J: If you have the power and the possibility to go in another country I think it's really, how can I say that, it's a really strong motivation, and I think your dream are big, your why [reason/purpose?] is really big, is really strong. Eh, don't lose your why, don't lose your goal, your will to do something.

S: Your will, OK, so so, if you, tell me if I've understood, so, because you are very motivated to come to the country in the first place...

J: Mhm.

S: ...people are generally very motivated to succeed...

J: to succeed...

S: ...after they arrive here.

J: Yeah and they are able to do anything. They can do any, any kind of work...

S: OK

J: ...so that's good for the economy, for the society.

S: OK I see, so basically this idea of participating actively in Scottish life, or doing something to help Scottish society, really just by getting a job, they make an economic contribution?

J: Yeah!

S: Is that what you mean? They pay tax..?

J: Yeah, we pay tax, we do lots of shopping here, the shopping's really common...

S: Yeah.

J:...there's lots of shop everywhere, everywhere you can buy anything...

S: OK...

J: Good save, good discount, any time of the year. So you are doing something.

S: Is it only about the economic contribution though, I mean is there anything else that that, I don't know, I mean I'm getting, thinking of your example, you know, the Sikh community, there's quite a big Sikh community in Glasgow for example.

J: It is.

S: ...and you know, are, is it only about the economic contribution or is it a bit more...

J: No, it's a bit more. Ah, a mix of culture. I see lots of shop who are selling the dress and they are in Indian style. I love that.

S: Yeah?

J: Something, eh, oriental, mixed in the occidental – right?

S: Yeah.

J: So, that's good. We mix the ideas, I told you, have innovation, something new.

S: OK so it's kind of like a fusion...

J: Yeah!

S: A cultural fusion, a cultural mix.

J: That's really good.

S: OK so you've got an example there with clothes where you can buy a sari but you can maybe accessorize.

J: You say some words in Indian as well.

S: Yeah?

J: That's good.

S: I suppose that's just part of, because they're now part of the English language.

J: Yeah (laughs).

S: Chicken tikka masala, you know...

J: (laughing)

S: That's had...

J: The food

S: Yes that's had a very big influence on Scottish society.

J: Yes, it is. Lots of Indian foods are healthy, but the takeaway here is really common here, the takeaway junk food. They are making in a bad way, I think.

S: Right, yeah.

J: Because our foods are really healthy, we have lots of protein and vitamins...

S: Yeah

J: ...Italian food as well (laughs)

S: Of course. But somehow in Scotland we like all the unhealthy stuff don't we (laughs).

J: Yeah we like, you like things that are quickly to ready, quickly to have, cheaper.

S: yeah, yeah, all of that. OK, em, but maybe this idea that immigrants can participate in Scottish society then, there's the economic side, which you've spoken about, in which people are working, they're doing something for the economy, they're paying tax, they're shopping, they're buying stuff. But there's more to it than that as well maybe a cultural...

J: Cultural

S: Cultural contribution maybe? To make.

J: Yeah. It's lots of...mixed...

S: Yeah that's what you've spoken about, it's like bringing the different cultural ideas together...

J: Yeah, em...create something new.

S: OK, OK. Alright that's very interesting. OK, great, em, I don't have any more questions, is there anything that you want to say XX?

J: No, it's OK.

S: OK that's great. I'd better just check that this recorded...

2. Omar

S: OK this is the 31st January 2017 and it's Steve Brown, the researcher, and I'm here with one of my participants this is XX, hi XX.

O: I am fine, and you?

S: I'm alright thanks. OK, em, alright XX um I've got some questions here...I'd like to start if it's OK with you, just by talking about some personal things about yourself.

O: OK.

S: You're from Pakistan, is that right?

O: Yeah I'm from Pakistan. I have also nationality Pakistani...

S: OK.

O: ...and I just came from last 2 years...

S: So two years ago.

O: ...yeah two years ago.

S: OK. Em, what is your first language?

O: My first language is Urdu.

S: Urdu, OK and do you speak any other languages?

O: Yeah like Punjabi and some Arabic.

S: OK, OK. Did you, before you came here, could you already speak English, did you study in your own country?

O: Yeah yeah I study in my own country but I don't know too much. I used English in my country but don't too much. Always used you know first language as your own country, if you go outside and then you can use this language.

S: Yeah OK.

O: When you need.

S: Right. Now you've been here for two years.

O: Yeah

S: Can I ask what your residency status is here, do you have permanent leave to remain or is it a short term visa? What is your situation?

O: Now I have at this moment I have a short stay to remain because I just came on the behalf of my Dad, I get the spouse visa and after I think after few months I think I get the indefinite visa.

S: OK, so a spouse visa...

O: Yeah it's from my Dad to get his family...

S: I see...

O: ...because I not came alone, my mother and my other brother and sister we will come together.

S: I see, and so your Dad – does he have indefinite leave to remain?

O: Yeah...no, my Dad has a British...

S: OK he's a British national?

O: Yeah. He's a British national there. From last few years because he has been there from last, more than 22 years.

S: OK, OK.

O: So...

S: Right.

O: And my one uncle also there from, they came together.

S: I see. So now that you're living here then, it's a kind of a family reunion visa, something..?

O: Yeah, family reunion. Yeah.

S: I see. OK, so your Dad's been here for a long time but you've...your Mum...

O: Yeah I just came in last two years...

S: OK, so you were living in Pakistan and he was here all that time.

O: Yeah.

S: Alright, em, and are you, do you have brothers and sisters?

O: Yeah I have one brother and one sister.

S: And are they here too?

O: yes, they are here too and they are also going to XX school, my brother goes to S3 and my sister goes to S5.

S: Right. OK, OK so they're at high school...

O: Yeah.

S: ...and eh did they arrive at the same time as you?

O: Yeah yeah, same time.

S: Right OK. How are they getting on in school?

O: Eh, good. My sister I think they will go next year to college.

S: Right.

O: Yeah. She's going in this year to college.

S: OK, that's good. They're making good progress.

O: Yeah.

S: Now of course for you because you're a bit older, eh, you you're looking at a kind of different situation, but you're here with your family. Eh, just, can you tell me a little about your kind of everyday life here, do you spend most time with your family or with people from like maybe from your own community or do you mix with other communities?

O: I think most of the time I spend with the parents, you know, because I woke up in morning, and then I will stay at home for long time with

Mother, maybe go to uncle's home, and if my Dad need in the shop he will call me and I will go in shop for few hours...

S: OK

O: ...and then I will came back to home and then I am on shop and then I will meet to the local community to the other peoples...

S: I see. So so most of your connections or your em communication with local people, with Scottish people is...

O: With Scottish people yeah...

S:...but that's at work...

O: And sometimes I go to banks and so I will meet the peoples in banks and also go to the, you know, I don't know I forget the name, eh, where the paper working, which person do for the shops for the business?

S: Oh like an accountant?

O: Yeah, accountant, sometimes go the accountant but it's also Asian like our language not use another language.

S: Alright so even when you do that you're still speaking Urdu with, it's eh, it's a Pakistani Scottish accountant?

O: Yeah (laughs).

S: OK. And what about the customers that come into the shop? I mean is it mostly Scottish people or do you mostly...

O: Mostly Scottish people and also some other community because my Dad has a shop in city centre so you know most of the tourist in city centre, lot of hotels there, so a lot of Chinese or like other people also come in shop, but most of them locals community.

S: OK.

O: Scottish people.

S: Right, OK.

O: Also the youngsters, most of youngsters, in city centre.

S: OK, but that's interesting then so most of your contact with Scottish people is when you're at work or if you're doing something kind of official.

O: Yeah. Then.

S: But if you're like socialising or if you're kind of relaxing it's mostly with other Pakistanis is it?

O: No you know, socialising with Pakistani there is no time, every Pakistani's busy!

S: (laughs) You have no social life!

O: No (both laugh).

S: OK, alright.

O: If you want to meet any other people you want to go their work or like their restaurant or takeaway in which they work or which they have maybe owner, so you need to go there and then you can met, or

otherwise you can met only on the events like Eid event, you go there on the mosque maybe...

S: Right OK so if it's an, a kind of official holiday then you'll meet them.

O: Yeah, we can met...

S: But if not...

O: But in Pakistan it's very changed, in Pakistan everybody is free...

S: Uhuh...

O: You can socialise like your cultures because you are there, you know everybody from childhood, so in our country we know everybody from childhood, we get together, we are friends, like you can also but the Scottish people are also very friendly. You can, if you met and you know then you can go longer, ... friendship you know, everything.

S: OK. So you find that Scottish people are friendly...

O: Yeah

S: ...but at the moment you don't really have Scottish friends...

O: No

S: ...as such.

O: Yeah, at that moment I don't have any. But my uncle and my Dad has also a lot of peoples they know him, like his all family like his children and now they are married and his children, because he has more than 22 years. He know everybody like in city centre everybody knows my Dad's name and Dad everybody knows, and knows everything about his family his ...why he ...and maybe some kids are married and his children also now...

S: So when you say that everybody knows your Dad do you mean everybody in the Pakistani community or everybody in general?

O: No no in Scottish community.

S: Right so he's just a well-known guy.

O: A lot who came like the peoples came more than 10 years ago they came in our Asian community they're also know.

S: OK

O: ...because they also met him, few times in few things, maybe mosque or like other ways.

S: Can, can I go back to the thing where you said in Pakistan people have more free time maybe to socialise.

O: Yeah, more free time to socialise...

S: ...whereas here everybody's working all the time.

O: Yeah! (laughs)

S: So, why do you think that is, do you think that life here is harder than it is in Pakistan?

O: Oh life is easier but I think their life goes on clockwise you know, everything on clock. You can go with the clock you timing, go to work, your timing to go back, your timing to sleeping. In Pakistan it's not depend, it's free. Everybody ask you can you come with me? Go there, go there, like this, and also if you go to university you just have like one lecture and after this you can go for hanging out, with the peoples...

S: I see.

O: ...and with the other friends or colleagues or maybe with your teacher sometimes, if they have.

S: OK. Do you think that, that life in Scotland for Pakistani people is the same or similar to life in Scotland for Scottish people, or are there big differences?

O: It's depend on the person which he get from. You know, when we are living in this country you can get the some things from you and give some things from yourself, so I think it's not big a difference.

S: OK. If, in your life...

O: Because when you spend a lot of time like my Dad, he spent a lot of time there so he is very similar to Scottish people. He made, he go his homes, mates, friends he has a lot of Scottish friends, also a lot of Asian friends. And also my Dad says when you spend a lot of time with any people you can also like feeling like Pakistan – you can go and hanging out with other peoples, like other peoples. When but it's very important to know about him and he know about you, and then you can go.

S: Aha so maybe it takes some time to build connections, build relationships.

O: Yeah build relationships and also he says you can also build your first language because when you go outside with hanging out, if I say to my friend to his son, take out my son, but if you don't speak to him he doesn't understand and maybe he's further from you and you further from him because you don't know anything.

S: OK so if everybody could speak English then it makes it easier.

O: Yeah speak easier and they speak more friendly to you.

S: Yeah, yeah, OK OK fair enough. Em, it seems that, you know, your Dad has, if we are thinking about integration or about ability to become part of the community, your Dad seems to have integrated quite well.

O: Very well, yeah.

S: But of course for you, you've been here a shorter time so it's a...

O: Little bit problem.

S: Uhuh, so at the moment you're you're, you kind of have to rely on your Dad really, or other people in the Pakistani community for help or for support?

O: No...I...

S: Do you feel...

O: I have some English so I go to bank, to go my own work, to content on my work, and if we go any council problem we can go there and we can talk because I think the Scottish people more helpful because she knows they cannot speak English and help him, from other ways like to do by action like writing, like these things...

S: OK

O: ...and they can help you more and more.

S: Right so if you need any help for something official like that, for you know the council or something, you feel that you get the support you need and you, you can communicate OK?

O: Yeah.

S: And is that because you already spoke some English or is it because of what you're learning now or...?

O: For learning now and some I have in Pakistan. Like my brother and sister they are also now very socialised because they go to school, they have good friends now, their Scottish friends, they speak and they go outside with them.

S: Yeah. OK OK, so maybe it's easier when you're in school, you can...

O: Yeah it's very easier and I think when you are in younger age you can learn very very fast.

S: OK. OK, so do you feel that you are at a disadvantage then?

O: Yeah (laughs). No, I think my brother and sister they learn more than me, because I also start the college you know, after one year, so he spent more than one year in school...

S: That's true.

O: So they learn most of things most of the socialising and most of the local language also and English also.

S: Yeah. Although for you of course, you're only doing a part-time course...

O: Yeah part-time course...

S: ...it's only three mornings a week, they're in school every day, so...and it's a bit more intensive for them maybe. OK, em, just thinking about this idea of how easy it is to become part of the community, I mean, do you actually think it is, is important for for eh, for immigrants to become part of a bigger community? Or maybe it's enough for them to come and make friends with other people from the same background..?

O: No, I think he need to more, bigger community he want to need to more more and more people to meet him, to learn. Because every person has his own mind and he will tell you a new thing that's important for you, or maybe not, but everything is important when you came to another country. You need to learn how to live there, where you can go, how you can solve your solutions. So I think first you need to prefer your own community which knows English so he can tell you what he's saying, and what are you saying. And after some time you learn and you can do by yourself.

S: I see. OK so first you can use your local community for some support, until...

O: ...and then you can go for a bigger community. But you also need to go for a bigger community. You always don't rely on your own community because sometimes maybe he is not there, you need a problem so what you can do? You just stay in home. So always you need to go in another community, to ask him, to learn.

S: OK but it must be quite difficult to make these connections.

O: Yes. But you know if you gain anything you feel pain. If you don't feel pain you don't gain anything.

S: OK OK (both laugh), no I understand your point.

O: Yeah.

S: Do you, do you ever feel that maybe, em, Scottish people could do more, or maybe the government or something I don't know, could maybe do more to make it easier for immigrants to, to become part of a wider community?

O: Yeah, I think it's the government also the community too because in every school I saw, when I go to school, there are lot of languages written – English, Urdu, Arabic, Indian and other, and also I go last time with my Dad to the police station. I also saw the other languages written on the wall of the police station so they also encourage to you, to come and you can learn. And I also remember I go to my near XX library, they also have one Asian people and other communities. So you can come and you can teach, and also in XX also another community centre where they learn you the English, ESOL, yeah, which for the elderly people.

S: I see. OK.

O: And they also learn how to do, learn computer, how to use computer and how to use Facebook, like online banking, they are also teach you in the community.

S: OK. So do you think then that the government, and the wider community, that they...

O: Yeah they help...

S: Do they do enough, are they helpful enough, or is there any...could you give us some advice? What advice would you give to the government? If anything? To make things easier.

O: To make more easier...I think they are also doing a lot of things.

S: OK, so you wouldn't give them any...

O: No.

S: Alright. Eh, OK, em, let's think about that then so if there is a kind of, well, you're studying English now, so you said before that if you've got English it makes things a little bit easier.

O: Yeah.

S: Em, the course that you're doing now, your ESOL course, are we doing the things that you expected before you started the course? Is this what

you were expecting or what you were hoping for? Or is it different in some ways?

O: I think some ways different because when we are teaching English in Pakistan, in every lecture I just go and he will start from the, you know, tenses, from present continuous and past. When I start the college I also think maybe my first lecture on the, you know, grammar, maybe tenses again and start...

S: Maybe just a kind of traditional..?

O: Yeah traditional thing, but I think that way is very very good, to learn language the way you teach us. That's very good because you do more practically. In Pakistan I think most of the study is on theory. Like most of us learn theory, theory and theory - no practical. That's I think no good for the peoples because I learn, I got a lot of marks in Pakistan, in my studies but I never remember how to practical, how to use in them. Because in Pakistan I got a lot of marks in English, I think out of 150 I think I get 146...

S: OK, pretty good!

O: ...but my English is rubbish again I don't know how to use...

S: (both laugh) OK so maybe you, you know how to use English but you can't actually use it in practice...

O: Yeah...

S: It's that difference between theory and practice...

O: When I am in class I learn most of things how to use and how to pronounciate and how to use the good grammar there, and which is the good pronunciation and which is the good vocabulary for each sentence.

S: OK, OK, and on the course, I suppose you're right that it's maybe more practical than you were expecting, and something that I try to do - and be honest if you think it's good or bad - but I try to think about practical situations in the real world that can, that you can use your English in and then I try to focus on things. So we have talked about things like eh, what is important when you're an immigrant in this country...

O: Yeah

S: ...and all of that.

O: What is the problems and all like this...

S: Yeah, how can you solve those problems and how can you be a better student, and those things...em. I don't know, do you think that's helpful? I mean is it a good thing to talk about in an ESOL class, or would you prefer that we just focus on the language..?

O: No no, I think it is good for the, you know, we're talking about our local community so we can also learn from outside, so when we have a problem we can discuss in class. That's also the, I think, the part of our class. So, because you are our teacher we have any mistakes or we have any problems we can discuss and we can solve. If we study only English, English and English we again just learn theory and don't use practically outside.

S: Right, so it might not be so helpful in practice.

O: No.

S: OK. Em...

O: And also, if I ask any question, a lot of peoples may make any mind about these questions, they also can share and we can learn about these shares, things.

S: OK right yeah, so you can share ideas and share your experiences too.

O: Yeah.

S: OK, em, when it comes to, when we discuss these things in the class, em, I suppose there are two things, well first of all we can discuss what are things like in this country. But then of course the other thing is to be more evaluative, and say right well this is the way things are in this country – but do we like that or do we not like it? You know, is it good or is it bad? Em, in terms of giving your opinion about these things, do you think that's an important part of an ESOL course? To give you the chance to sort of say your opinion about stuff?

O: Yeah. It's important because we are learning our ESOL language and also our local community and also local language. So we need to learn because if we don't share our ideas, if we go outside and something say wrong, and maybe people disagree with them, and maybe he hurt you, somebody hurts you because you know some peoples have very very sensitive...

S: Yeah, true.

O: So it's very very helpful in class to discuss about, so you can, you can save yourself and other self, to be sensitive.

S: OK so kind of from a safety point of view, just...

O: Yeah a safety point of view...

S: ...you don't want to say something that other people will get angry about...

O: ...don't like or...

S: OK. Although, what if you know, for example, well, you know, Scottish culture – maybe there are some things about Scottish culture that you think are a bad idea.

O: Yeah.

S: If you disagree with something in Scottish culture, do you feel – as an immigrant here – do you feel that you have the right to say? Or do you think oh that's not my business?

O: No, you have right to say, to share your ideas. So you can share everything with the peoples. So they can give you a good piece of advice. So in this way you can help and you can also make a part of the community. And also somebody know about you, what's your ideas, maybe they can share on the big place.

S: OK, so maybe they can learn your opinions and maybe pass that on or...

O: Yeah.

S: It can become part of a bigger conversation I suppose?

O: Yeah.

S: OK.

O: And you can also learn from him, his own culture.

S: So if you're not happy with something, that exists in this society, eh, what do you feel you can do about it?

O: We can talk and we can solve. That's a good way because talking is a very good way, conversation is a good way. Maybe you are thinking about wrong, but you don't know what happened behind of them, behind of this so if you talk with him he can explain with you, and so you can agree or disagree, you don't see like this girl he is, she is not good or bad. You don't know! Because sometimes some peoples go for a party or some peoples go for outside. It's the culture there. You cannot say this is a wrong or this is a bad because my Dad explained me like these cultures. He said people go there like for pubs or like these things. He says he has own culture. You just come from Pakistan. This is not Pakistan, this is Scotland, and he has own cultures and Pakistan has own cultures so you make your open-minded, and don't say anything wrong, or don't say anything like if you don't know anything. First you need to ask, but you need to understand and then you can get the decision. But otherwise you cannot get any decision right or wrong.

S: Ah right, OK. So before you can have your opinion you first need to look at all of the information.

O: yeah, yeah.

S: OK, that's interesting...

O: So you can understand what's...like, I'm going with a girl in Pakistan, everybody understanding "no", but not there. If I go maybe he understand, if I go for a party or if I go for a movie, like this, in Pakistan no. Only negative, not be positive. But my Dad explained me everything is positive there, not negative. Even you don't know, so first you need to understand and then any decision or any explanation, otherwise don't.

S: OK, so it's about learning the background to the situation...

O: yeah the background. Anything about background you don't know, like any other people came inside or go outside we don't know what the behind of them.

S: ...what's happening in the background, OK. Now, just thinking about that then, do you think then that your, this idea of learning a little more and finding out what is behind the things that you see every day. Do, do you think that there is a place to discuss these things in your ESOL class? Or is your ESOL course maybe for something different and those kinds of conversations should be outside the college?

O: Maybe, eh, some of things you can do in class because everybody can share and everybody can listen. Because all of them are immigrants in the ESOL course so everybody want to know. Everybody want to learn.

S: So there might be some pieces of information...

O: Some pieces that we can discuss in class...

S: Right, that are useful...

O: ...that everybody can use and everybody can discuss and everybody can understand.

S: OK, OK...em, obviously as you know this is a college and in this college most of our money comes from the government. So eh, the government has different policies that we have to think about. There is a policy on ESOL.

O: Yeah.

S: And one of the objectives from the Scottish government is that ESOL courses in Scotland should help people to "participate actively in Scottish life", yeah?

O: ...Scottish life, yeah.

S: Now, what does that mean to you? The idea of participating actively in Scottish life?

O: When we do the ESOL course you can do, you can more confident to go outside, to talk with the people, so we can communicate and we can participate in the community centre like yesterday you know on George Square a lot of people go. If you know communicate, if you understand then you can go, otherwise you can't, how do you know why the people are coming there? What the behind of this situation?

S: Right OK.

O: So if you do ESOL course you learn some things so you can understand what are going on outside. Otherwise you are just sitting in your room. You don't know (laughs) what are going on the other world.

S: OK right, OK so your ESOL class is like maybe, I don't know, tell me if this is wrong, I'm just checking if I've understood. Your ESOL class is maybe like some kind of, almost like a little window? That, so that to give, that gives you more information about a wider part of Scottish society? Is that what you mean or...

O: No it's not eh too much, it's about 50-50 we can say, we can get information from outside but we also learn the, you know, language, that is more important than...

S: So, learning English and improving your English might be the number one thing.

O: Yeah, and also the other community you can learn. Because you know if you know the language you can also learn the community. Because you can go outside and you can talk with colleagues, with neighbours, or with, in street, where you can go you can talk and you can conversation and you can share your ideas so you learn everything.

S: OK, OK.

O: If you don't know the language so how you can communicate with the other people?

S: Of course.

O: That's a bigger problem.

S: Of course, alright.

O: And also if you go just on your own community, just a part of your own community you are not a part of Scottish...

S: And is that a bad thing then?

O: Yeah it's a bad thing. Because the Scottish people are more friendly, they cannot ask you, no know we are not like, they are like to you. But if you don't talk so he cannot know you. If he not know you he don't like, maybe.

S: Or he can't have an opinion I suppose.

O: No.

S: Right so it's it's a good idea to communicate with Scottish people just to help with understanding.

O: Because ESOL is the first step he just starting to talk with the people you know, you learn not good but you learn from step by step in the ESOL course.

S: OK OK, em, and in terms of like I mean you talked for example about the thing in George Square yesterday, there was like a political demonstration.

O: Yeah.

S: Em, I mean, I don't know if em...

O: Like you sent me an email. If I know the English so like I can understand the email otherwise I don't know what is this email say to me...

S: Yeah...

O: So I don't go there, nothing else.

S: So that's just to give you the information but then it's your decision if you want to...

O: ...to go or not go.

S: Yeah. Do do you think that...I don't know...

O: This is a good example for the Asian community like the Muslims, that Scottish peoples are very helpful, they go there, otherwise they don't need because they're not Muslims so they go anywhere like America or like any other country they can go but they are very friendly so they go for there for the Muslims you know...

S: To show support?

O: Yeah to show support with the Muslims or to show support with the Asians. So this is a most powerful thing from the Scottish people. But if, you know, if you don't know so how they can help you?

S: Uhuh, OK, OK. No that's a good point.

O: Yeah.

S: So, so there's an example there of Scottish people showing that they...

O: Interest in Muslims and showing more support with the Muslims...

S: Right OK. What about the other way round though, in terms of like em, the Muslim community or the Pakistani community doing things that can, I don't know, can make Scottish society or make Scottish life better. I mean do you think there are things, are there things that we can learn from you, for example?

O: I think the Scottish people more learn from us (laughs) and we also learn from us most of things.

S: OK, OK. Can you give some examples maybe? Of things that we've learned to do, that we've learned from your community?

O: From our community? I think most of things I don't know how to explain, sorry.

S: OK, that's alright that's alright. But you think that that happens though?

O: Yeah, I know.

S: So I mean we have had a Muslim community in Scotland for what 50 years? About, yeah?

O: Like this, yeah.

S: Em so do you think that having a community like this in Scotland, has it had a positive effect on our society?

O: Yes I think positive. I gave you before the example, yesterday's example, this is a positive. If it was negative, nobody goes there.

S: That's true. And maybe maybe if there were no Muslims in Scotland maybe we would not be so supportive.

O: ...supportive. Because we are communicate and they can share ideas in a bigger place so they can spoke to each other.

S: OK.

O: And also like the referendum you know, like all those things go with the Scottish people's ideas. We don't want to, want to leave the European Union...

S: Right.

O: Because most of community gave the [worse?] so I think they can learn from each other.

S: OK that's fine. OK great, I don't have any more questions for you XX do you want to say anything more about what we have talked about? Anything more that we've, that you think I didn't ask...

O: I think I explain too much! (laughs)

S: Oh it's good, it's good information. OK great, thank you very much XX.

O: Thank you.

S: Cheers.

3. Ugur

S: OK so it's the 1st February 2017, and I'm here with XX hi XX.

U: Hi Steve.

S: Em so I'd like you to maybe just talk to me about, eh, your situation in Scotland – how long have you been here, why did you come here, that kind of stuff.

U: Yeah. I Steve I was three years ago here on holiday, my brother lived here in Glasgow. With the family was here in Glasgow and after I liked the country, I liked the people, I liked everything, I stayed. I stayed. The most of thing was the people I talked, so beautiful, so respectful...

S: OK

U: ...and so good. So friendly like Turkish people.

S: Aha? OK. Tell me about where you were before you came because you're Turkish but you grew up in Belgium right?

U: Belgium right I'm Turkish, when I was 4 years old we moved with the family to Belgium, and all my life in Belgium, and Belgium was a situation difficult about the immigrants, they are not so like in Scotland. You feel the racism, you feel you, you are not welcome in Belgium. Always I have problems with everywhere if I go to the pub or if I wait anywhere the people watch different to me because I'm brown. And here I was, I've been to many countries in Europe, and most of the countries are nearly the same about brown people or I...I can see it if the people watch the, in Scotland I can see it's different, the first time that I came here I couldn't speak English, I could say only my name, and some places the people tried to talk with me and I said "No English", but the people tried to help me. I was so happy when I saw first time the Scottish people, they was thinking different about the Scottish people, it's really fantastic.

S: OK. It's interesting. Why do you think that is the case the, why do you think..is it only, is it, I don't know is it something about the Scottish mentality or something about the Scottish, could it be something...I don't know is it the people or is it the society or is it the government? How is it different here?

U: I think the difference is because Scotland is a part of UK, and was always a part like, the part where, em, Britain people see Scottish people like, down more, the Scottish people in the time have a lot of problems like Turkish people, and that kind people are always more friendly, always more together. Turkish people are the same, eh, Scottish are the same. England and Belgium...Belgian and English people always think "we are higher than everyone" and Scottish people have see in the time bad things happens, and so he try to change world in a good way. With everyone together.

S: OK. Right so because Scotland or Scottish people in the UK are like a minority, is that what you're thinking? Because we're only 5 million and there are 60 million in the UK.

U: Eh not about 5 and 60 million, it's about...English people see Scottish people eh, lower than them.

S: I see

U: Yeah lower than them because all the things what's happened in UK is about English people, you cannot find a Scottish people anywhere high up, too high up. The first choice is always for English people. Scottish people are the second people in the UK I think so, and that's why the people are together.

S: Mhmm. OK so it means they are maybe a bit more sympathetic to people from other countries that come here. OK. Eh alright, that's interesting, that is very interesting. Now you're living here, you said your brother was here before.

U: Yeah he's moved to London.

S: So do you live alone?

U: I live with my flatmate and he's now writing his dissertation like you, and he's now at the end, and next week he gonna give his dissertation and he's gonna finish, and last week his grandfather is dead...

S: Oh no...

U:...and he's now in Turkey for the fune, funeral?

S: Funeral

U: ...funeral for them...

S: That's too bad

U: ...and after then, I'm alone. I'm alone [but] I'm always too many people in my house with me making always party because I'm social.

S: Do you normally hang out with other Turkish people or Scottish friends or, I mean, what is the balance with your circle...

U: My balance is...now the last time and this time with my classmates, with XX, with XX, maybe everyday together. And with my Turkish friends yeah I meet also my Turkish friends. Eh, I don't have any Scottish friends, I have too many customers, yeah, the relationship is like a cust...cust...ah not like a friend you know, with my neighbours, are Scottish and English, everybody likes me and I like everyone, and I have always a good communication but not a Scottish, I don't have a Scottish friends.

S: OK, tell me about your job because you work, do you work full-time or...

U: Yes I was working full-time, I'm a hairdresser, and I've pick up too many English skills from the customers, but when I came first here, if you gonna speak Glaswegian you need to first know English. I've start here with Glaswegian, when I start the first time in XX in the shop, everybody was speaking different, I couldn't understand nothing. Nothing. Here in the hairdressing, the customers are, you know, if you make a mistake, sometimes I don't like I finish half of the hair, ask to the guy "How is it?" he say "Oh brilliant, brilliant" "What's brilliant? Watch please!" If you sit in the barber's chair nobody can say "Can you do that, can you do that?" Everybody is shy, everybody is shy.

S: Yeah. I suppose maybe they're scared that you're, that they're gonna make you angry and you'll give them a bad haircut, I don't know.

U: No I think it's shy, just shy. Just shy. And here, is....is 10 minutes, hairdressing in 10 minutes, everybody have the same things, I couldn't understand why are too many hairdressers here, too many shops, really I couldn't understand it. Maybe in Glasgow there are more than 2000 hairdresser shops...

S: That many, yeah?

U: Yeah and I was surprised about that.

S: Yeah. OK. But you do use English a lot every day, you know, in your job and now that you're, you, you said that you're making friends and you hang out with your classmates quite a lot. But that must be a new thing for you because the course only started in October.

U: Yes, yes.

S: So, do you feel that then, has your ESOL course maybe given you some extension, not just with your language but also with your kind of social circle?

U: Yes yes, with this ESOL course, I will begin first with the language about the ESOL course. That's my first course all my life, the first time that I get an education about English. Here, with ESOL, with the ESOL programmes, and how the teacher teach the topics, all of them are...I'm really surprised about your skills, how that you teach us. I have seen all my life maybe more than 100 teachers, but really it's not about that, you are here, I've never seen anyone like you. You have some, really you have some good positive things that you can give to the whole class, and you are sure that everybody understands it, and you give time to everyone. And you choose most of the time, if you ask a question to the class you are choosing for the people who talk quietest in the class to get everyone a word.

S: To give everybody a chance?

U: Yeah to give everyone a chance to talk, to...if you make a mistake you can make it better. And about a soc...socialty? is it, here [I have met the classmates first here, and I have a good communication with XX, with XX, with XX, with XX, with XX, and outside of the college we are most of the time like brothers and sisters. Like tonight we are also together.](#)

S: Yeah?

U: Yeah, every day like that because here the people who comes for learning English, who comes for the ESOL courses are most of the people are immigrants or refugees arriving new in this country...

S: Yeah

U: ...and the people doesn't have not too many friends and your classmates are in the same situation with you. Then if you are positive and if you will be more positive you can get good friendship, good communication. It's so helpful.

S: Yeah. I mean you, you know when you came here you had your brother and you've got your flatmate now so you already had a kind of a circle of friends, but for some people who first come to this country they're alone. Em so do you think it is important then for an ESOL course

to to, or well for immigrants that come here, that they can use their ESOL course as a way to make connections or to make friends?

U: Eh, first thing I have waited 2 years long for a course there was not a space open for me and I think ESOL course is important for me if you're gonna arrive here in this country you're gonna start first with ESOL, because we have learned about how I'm gonna write an email, how I'm gonna apply for work, for other things how I'm gonna apply, how I'm gonna write a letter, where I can go for my benefits or...is the most helpful thing we are. ESOL is like English language and also the life, is not only about – I think – is not only about English, it's also about Scotland's society, em, about everything what you want to do. How you want to start. You can find also flatmates, or you can find everything and my teachers, we are so lucky. Our teachers help us for everything. If we have a question outside the college, inside the college we'll get always help and it's so positive, it's so good.

S: So, right so...

U: It's important to get an ESOL course, it's too important.

S: Right, but you're saying it's not only important for improving your English, it's also important for some practical things, for understanding the systems in this country...

U: Yes, understanding the systems, how the systems works, what you need to do, how you can be more confide...better, yeah more better.

S: OK.

U: I...it's help with everything, ESOL. ESOL is like, that we are, how that you teach your kids. You are teaching us outside our language, we are like a kid here we don't know about simple things. We get the simple things.

S: OK.

U: Is not only, is not English for Speaking of Other Language, I think ESOL and, and life outside – outside the college!

S: Right so living in Scotland, kind of life in Scotland, OK. Now, the, that's interesting what you're saying then, so, if we go back to the, just the whole idea of integration and people, immigrants coming into Scotland, em, you've already said that it's important and it's very useful when people come into this country that they learn a little about how things work here, what are the systems, how can you, I don't know, apply for a job and do the practical stuff.

U: Yes.

S: Em, is it also important for immigrants to come into Scotland and, maybe, you will, maybe people arrive here and see something and they think "Hmm, that's not very good, that system could be better", you know?

U: Yes.

S: Do, do you think, or you know maybe "That system doesn't work very well for me, I would like to change it." Do you think maybe is that an important role for immigrants when they come into Scottish society, if

you're living here, do they have the right to, to be involved in changing things, in making things better? Or maybe you think well that's not really my responsibility, that's for Scottish people to do.

U: Euh, I I'm gonna answer how what I have understood, what I have understood.

S: Yeah it's a difficult question.

U: I think here is everything is good, I like everything. Only one thing that I not like is the education of the kids and education. Because I'm a barber I'm with people all the time and the people come to me and say I speak French and the kids like that and I I ask them just a simple thing "Do you speak French?" in the French language. Everybody say no. There are too many holidays for the kids, too many holidays for the kids. That's is very bad. And eh, maybe the government needs to go down with the benefits. There are too many people without work, you don't wanna work, there are too many junkies here around with...this is more about the governor [government] help you, and you don't need to work. And if you not work you cannot give, you cannot became a better person and it's also bad for the football. Without education you see Scottish football here, the Scottish guys are playing very well, have good skills. I've played with Scottish friends – they're playing very well. If you not have a good education in the time and you grow up, you became a junkie and you get the money from the government and when you are old the young people are gonna watch to you "Ah, watch my uncle James! He's smoking weed!" and the kids going do the same things.

S: OK.

U: I think government needs to help disabled person, people, immigrants, no immigrants, refugees? Refugees...

S: Right

U: Refugees and for the other people they are, people without any illness needs to work, needs to work. Just help them for a month or no more than that.

S: OK.

U: Because, here is it, and Scotland is a rich country with everywhere sea and here with the meat. All Europe and Turkey buy all the meat from eh, Ireland and Scotland. Here with petrol, petrol is everything in the [??]. And fish, there are beautiful fish here. Everywhere you have everywhere grounds to became a farmer...

S: OK, so you, you know, you've lived here for long enough that you can see some problems with society. You know Scotland is not perfect, it's not paradise you know...

U: Yes.

S: Em, but because you are, you know, you weren't born here, you came here as an immigrant, do you feel that it's, that you have the possibility to get involved in making changes, I mean to to Scottish life?

U: Yes yes yes we can do it and I can do it. I can do it first by myself, I need to, I need to change my lifestyle, change my ideas, ma, my ideas

are good, ma change how I live. And if I can do by myself anything where we are where you are, are you in the class, are you working, you need to show your respect, you need to help them. And if you start to help them, help them, the people gonna help the other people and be...normally I need to say too many things, I will say more things, with my English I cannot say that and...it's like, if anyone gets respect, he will give respect...

S: Respect back

U: ...to to other people.

S: Yeah.

U: Just if...here is good because everybody is laughing, and everybody, if you need anything "Hi XX, hi XX, how are you?" Laughing and little great, a smile is always good.

S: Yeah.

U: And you have that here, only the weather is not good but Belgium was near the same like this.

S: Yeah it's not a big difference I suppose. OK so, eh, so you feel that you eh, there are things that you can do in your life to, not just to help yourself but also maybe to help other people or to try to make Scotland a better place, is that..?

U: Yeah

S: ...right?

U: Yes.

S: Do you, do you think that em, well I suppose kind of 2 questions. First, do you think that studying ESOL can help you with that, eh, and if your answer is No, should it? Should we do more in our ESOL classes to try to help immigrants to express...not just to apply for a job but to to maybe do some voluntary work, or do something for charity, or maybe help people who need help or...I don't know, is that...should that be my role as an English teacher? Or is that none of my business, is that...

U: The first is, if I not was in an ESOL course I'm thinking "That's not your role, that's just for English". But after when I experienced here in the class, the teacher gave us, you gave us like papers or or one...I have interest in refugees, I know, I can feel a little bit about the refugees. It's so bad, so terrible, and Calais is...what you see, it's not anything about humanity. Nobody have anything to say. This life is for anyone, you know? When we are here we need to go to the other country and normally we need to welcome...like...but over that, like, you gave us some papers about volunteer work for the refugees and that was the thing that I was searching for, and you gave it to us. Some of my classmates have, they get different ideas and for the people, most of refugees. I've been last year twice in Africa and I think I have a little bit see, I can see, I know a little bit about Africa, about poor situation. They are no education, totally no education, the people cannot do the easily things. It's hard and here if the people come from that kind of country I can see also in my class, my African brothers – not friends, really brothers, my African brothers – I less without way, how they say it...if if he needs to go out nobody ask the

teacher not nobody, some people doesn't ask the teacher "Can I go to the toilet?" That's because he didn't get any education and he don't know that is the proper way. There he can learn about can give more respect to each other. That kind people give respect, but he don't know how to give it, he don't know because really no education. It's terrible that kind countries, it's really terrible. And it's good to everyone pick up anything from other flatmate, eh, classmates. And also from the teacher I think that is important.

S: OK so people can learn from each other is that what you're saying?

U: Yes from each other, from the teacher, from how, the way how you gonna walk on the steps on the stairs. The way how you walk in the hall. The way how you gonna wait to get a coffee. Where you gonna put your things.

S: OK so even some of the most basic things...

U: Yeah the most basic things because that kind people doesn't have any education about that in this country because poor countries...we need to help them we need to do good things for them. We are doing very well. Only one more thing about ESOL is please do, make more fun days, go with ESOL to anywhere, make a trip.

S: Trips to places?

U: Trips, yeah.

S: Why do you think that would be helpful?

U: Eh for more communication, for you respect each other more. And if you see some private things from some people then you have a better communication, then you respect them more. And if you are outside the thing you're gonna respect them more and if is there any argument like that you can say OK only for today he's a little bit scared, a little bit like that, but normally he's a good people. So, and then you are positive in the class because outside you know how, what kind of people that is, you know his character. And if you do any bad thing in the class you don't take a distance about them. Normally in my eyes if I don't know anyone and he start making a mistake I take a distance to him, I never talk with them. Because I will that everybody is like me, respectful. But if you outside, if you say anything, if you make fun, then is it more often you feel like, not a classmates and teacher. It's like a small family, like that. A small family that you start. And Scotland, you need that. For me is that. I'm a hairdresser, I'm a social guy, I have money I have...I'm lucky, I'm lucky about that, I can go everywhere. But for the other people, friendship is the most important because one of my girlfriends here in the class, she have some problem, she don't, she don't have any friends here, no-one to talk, if she needs any simple thing like GP, like where is a thing, he couldn't find that. And it's important to get a good, good communication with the people.

S: Yeah OK.

U: I think that is the most important thing to start with the ESOL or a different thing like ESOL. And one thing that surprised me is, why are the teachers so good in this college? If I, if I walk I see the teachers some,

with some teachers I have a good communication, yeah good with everyone but with some teachers I have a...I talk with them, I have a nice chat, and everybody is so happy and I don't know why. I don't know why. Is there any kind of cameras inside is anyone...

S: (laughing)

U: ...watching you, Steve? (laughs)

S: Nah I think we're just like that normally I think. I don't know. I suppose, maybe it's, it must be something about the culture of the place, you know? You get a, we talk a lot about culture in our class you know, Scottish culture, different cultures, Muslim cultures, European cultures. But even in a workplace there is a culture, you know? Em, about the general kind of attitude or the way people treat each other. So I don't know I s...maybe in this this college we've got a, a, a kind of a very open culture in terms of how we interact with the students. In most colleges in Scotland, you know, the students will use the teachers' first names, you know, you call me Steve. And that's quite a normal thing in colleges in Scotland. So there is this feeling that the students and the teachers are, not exactly equals but nearly equals.

U: Yeah, yeah.

S: You know we're all adults so I suppose it's very very different from when you're in high school, because of the age difference there is this, almost like a hierarchy you know.

U: And maybe also anything about, all the teachers are happy and friendly and also is, you eh, get by with, get the good things from all the cultures. You pick the good things from Turkish culture, you pick the good things from that culture and you know about the cultures. Like, sometimes you are little bit different to African people, little bit different to Polish people, little bit different to Kurdish people, you hold everyone in balance, with differences. I will say you are, you are fair to everyone, but for some people you are doing little bit different because you know the culture, you know how is that there, you have experience of that. And I find it really so good. And I go also over this I go in XX College and XX [language school] in Glasgow, they are teachers, ahh good...I have learnt in my culture a teacher, if anyone teach you anything you will be a slave for them. Not I am a slave ma, it's so important the students and teacher and religion, it's so important a teacher. Because you are teaching me something and I can teach it to other people. You make the world better and better and better. And then you know what education means, education so important is.

S: So, ah, it's interesting we'll just, I think we're nearly finished but just to talk about what you've said there about how it's important to treat individual people a little bit differently you know. You have a class, but inside your class you've got maybe 16 different people, and you must treat people differently. I suppose, em, for some teachers they, they're teaching the class, you know? And if I'm teaching English, if em, if my priority is to teach language, you know some grammar, then I suppose I'm gonna think "right, everybody needs to know this grammar, let's practice that, let's do some exercises". But sometimes we're not only looking at English, you know?

U: Yes, yes...

S: Sometimes we're looking at a topic which maybe, maybe with the topic the European students know more than the African students, or the opposite, or the other way round. Em, so it's important to think about that. So, not everybody needs the same, you know what I mean?

U: Yeah, that that's that's my point that I will say. You are...everybody is even in the class, everybody is even, nobody is higher than they. I'm always the worst people, in my religion. You cannot see yourself higher than other people. If you start seeing yourself higher you gonna make mistakes, it's terrible. Here is the people everyone is even. Well with the education everybody not even, and you are trying to get...for some people you help them more, you you explain them more, you give them more time, you help them more. It's about education, it's about education, what they get in the time.

S: I think what what you're talking about is maybe, it's the difference between equality and equity. I don't know if you know those words? You know equality...

U: Equality...

S: ...so equality means you treat everybody the same, but equity means you give everything, you give everybody what they need to get to the next level kind of thing, you know?

U: Yeah it's like if one at step one we need to go to step two. You try to get everyone to step two, who also doesn't pass we try to give him the chance and give him the good way to get over to step two. But the other people who are in step two doesn't waiting, they are doing or practising other things, but you are always trying to get everyone passed. And that make it so happy because there are some people that I not like in the class. There are people who doesn't like me. And sometimes I see that for some people you are trying...you try always your best. You are trying to get them with us, together with us, Scottish society for everyone, with everything. And I think everyone in this class have never seen a teacher like you.

S: Hm.

U: Never. Also because we are all adults maybe...I really, I appreciate you..? How you say it?

S: Yeah appreciate.

U: And really I I, this is so good because all the people are new here in Scotland. It's a totally different culture with my culture, with most of the people's culture and to live here, to get a good life here, it's important that the ESOL teachers teach like Steve, like you – you know.

S: OK, so by that you mean, they think about what different people need and maybe focus not only on English but maybe looking at other things as well?

U: Yes yes it's also...

S: ...things that are important for life?

U: Personal, personal. XX needs vocabulary, XX needs grammar, XX needs this. About that, what XX need you can give me. But also for the other people he needs to do for his home, maybe for benefits, for other things for maybe, for bus tickets or like that. You can give them information, you give them good ideas, or you help them. Or you say, you help them with everything. You say "Go to the here and don't be shy", that's always what you say. And this is it, just don't be shy and try to get...for me I'm a lucky guy, I'm a lucky guy. I, this is my experience. I think I have the most experience here in the class when I've lived too many countries, I've travelled to many. I've travelled very much.

S: Yeah you have a lot of life experience.

U: I have very life experience and some things I know about. Belgium is near to Scotland with the culture. The other people needs more about...they were not lucky like me. And you are still holding everyone together, not one two people. You're still trying to hold everyone together, get everyone higher and higher. I think you are doing very very well. Always with a nice smile. That's...a smile is always important.

S: Yeah that's true too. OK. Thank you, I'm going to switch off the er...

4. Yasmina

S: OK so this is the 3rd February. I wonder if we could start, em, could you maybe tell me a little about where you come from, and your reasons for being in this country?

Y: Yeah, my name is XX, I'm from India, south part of Kerala.

S: OK, the south of India then.

Y: South of India yeah.

S: And how long have you been in Scotland?

Y: Um, near 8 years.

S: OK, quite a long time.

Y: Yeah quite a long time.

S: OK and did you come here with your...

Y: My husband yeah. He came here. After 5 years me and my kids came...

S: I see...

Y: ...for the indefinite leave, dependent visa you know?

S: I see.

Y: I came with the dependent visa, now I got the independent visa.

S: I see.

Y: Yeah.

S: So, when your husband came, eh, what kind of visa did he come with?

Y: He coming with the work permit for the restaurant, yeah.

S: I see.

Y: He's a chef.

S: So he's a chef?

Y: Yeah, in a restaurant.

S: In an Indian restaurant?

Y: Yeah.

S: OK, and since you arrived then, have you been working? Or, what have you been doing in the last 8 years?

Y: Me? Yeah he got the restaurant before, and I am helping to him you know. I am also a chef.

S: OK, so when you're working in the restaurant are you normally in the back, in the kitchen or...

Y: Yeah I'm in the kitchen and also in the counter, you know, in the front of the restaurant.

S: I see.

Y: Both.

S: Right, OK so, in your job and in your kind of normal everyday life do you speak English a lot or is it normally your...

Y: No I speak only in college...

S: OK.

Y: Or otherwise we can go outside some shops, something. And now I'm more better you know, when I sit in the bus, when next to me and speak a little bit. Because I want to lose my shyness (laughs).

S: Do you feel quite shy using English?

Y: Yeah.

S: When you lived in India did you study English in school there?

Y: Yeah I'm study only 10th standard.

S: OK.

Y: When I was 17 I got married.

S: I see.

Y: Yeah then I finish my all study things you know. Then when I came back, back on here I get good opportunity, I can study on here. That's good yeah.

S: Right so you kind of gave up your education back in India...

Y: Yeah.

S: So why is, why did you feel that now was a good time to come back to studying?

Y: Yeah because I don't have any much English you know. Then when I live on here, not me, everyone, we need English, improve the English and, first thing is English you know.

S: Yeah.

Y: Everything, if you want to care in my kids or shopping or anything. For job, anything I want to do, for English. So...

S: So you just need it for everything then?

Y: Yeah.

S: OK, and how old are your kids?

Y: My first one is a daughter she's 15 years, second one's boy, he's 12, and third one girl she's 6 and half.

S: 6 and a half, OK, quite a big gap. So they're all in school now yeah?

Y: Yeah.

S: And I suppose your youngest one was born here, yeah?

Y: Yeah youngest one born here.

S: Right OK. So in terms of their use of language do they usually speak English...?

Y: No I'm normally speaking in our language, it's Malayalam.

S: Malayalam?

Y: Malayalam. My kids speaking both English and Malayalam. I think my, in our language, it's Malayalam, our kids little bit difficult, some grammar problem in my language. They're most of time speaking English.

S: OK. And what about with, with your language? Do they only speak or can they read and write in Malayalam?

Y: Yeah. My youngest one she's doing everything. My eldest one she's doing everything. She also doing the Hindi, you know Hindi?

S: Uhuh?

Y: She learn Hindi now, because we got more friends in Hindi, speaking Hindi.

S: OK.

Y: So...

S: That was another question I was going to ask, when you're socialising do you, do you mix a lot with Scottish people, do you have Scottish friends..?

Y: Yeah. Both. I got both Hindi speaking friends also English. I'm also I'm doing last 2 years in sometime I'm helping the primary school. And join the you know First Family Group?

S: Right...

Y: I'm join the group 2 years before. Then I got a certificate also. Every week I'm going to school, every Tuesday, 3-6. I'm joined the, I participate this one.

S: So, the, this is like meetings with...

Y: English people, like Scottish people, I can meet there and I can socialise you know?

S: Sure.

Y: Yeah.

S: So, so this is a group that meets to kind of talk about things connected to the school? Is it about...

Y: ...[connected with] school. Me and some fam...the first family group members you know? I'm also one member in the group you know. Then 3 o'clock the parents coming and kids are there in school in same time. The parents coming then we are doing some playing and some...games you know? Games, yeah. We are participate and dancing something you know? Everything, yeah.

S: So this is parents and kids...

Y: Parents and kids...

S: Together?

Y: Together. Teachers also together.

S: Uhuh? OK. Eh, do, what...obviously you like that...

Y: I like yeah...

S: Why is that a good thing, do you think? Why is it important to do these things?

Y: Yeah because first of all I need to take away my shyness, that's the first thing.

S: OK.

Y: I don't have any confidence in anything you know! I need to concentrate...

S: Develop that?

Y: Develop my...yeah.

S: OK. Alright. Do you also think...I don't know, is it, does this, does this first family group, does it help you to maybe expand your, your connections or..?

Y: Yeah this way I got more friends also. Yeah. Also some friends I got in first family group you know. I got, yeah.

S: So can you give me some examples maybe of, of things that you can do now or things that are possible for you as a result of that first family group, things that you..?

Y: Yeah. Yeah.

S: What things can you do now or what things happen for you now that didn't happen before?

Y: Yeah. Before I got, you know helping the people, helping. I like helping people. And oldest people also and kids also, everybody.

S: Right.

Y: I think in my culture like you know when my grown-up, my Mum and my Dad learning, you want to look over the oldest people and kids. Everybody!

S: OK.

Y: You want to mingle the good way. Not shouting or not any, you know?

S: Yeah.

Y: Yeah.

S: OK. And you said that's an important thing in your culture?

Y: yeah.

S: The, you respect or you help...

Y: Respect other people...

S: ...you help younger people, kids...do you think that in Scotland there's not enough of that?

Y: Yeah yes. Some people small, I like you know. Some, I don't know...

S: Not so much?

Y: Not so much. Some people.

S: OK.

Y: It's too rare also in here. I think when I go to the London, my husband's family are in London. I think in the London too, I don't know, I think more better better on Scotland people. Yeah they lovely and helpful, you know. Yeah.

S: OK. Em, but maybe this is an example of something that is important in your culture which is maybe not so important in this culture, is this idea of families helping each other and people hel...a community you know? Community participation.

Y: Yeah yeah...

S: Do you think maybe that Scottish people could learn from your culture?

Y: Yeah some people yeah. Some. When I go to the school the headmistress he said, she said me, "Sometime I learn your some kindness" you know? Something I learn your side. I'm a, also my kids says also. Yeah.

S: OK. So if we think about that then, we've spoken in the class before about the idea of integration and how it's important for immigrants who come into the country to learn about Scottish culture and learn how to get involved. For you, in your opinion, is integration, is it only about eh immigrants learning about Scotland or is it important for Scottish people to...

Y: Give and take, I think the give and take, yeah.

S: So it goes in two directions?

Y: Yeah yeah, two. I think yes, two.

S: OK, uhuh, alright. Are, do you have any more examples maybe from your own experience, of maybe how you have learned more about Scotland or how Scottish people have learned more about your culture?

Y: No, I'm learned more about Scottish people you know.

S: Right. Can you give an example of that?

Y: Yeah because in my country you know, sometime, I don't know some people, I don't know who is there. Because when I saw the first people then we are "Hi, *salaam aleikum*", and here, some people "Hi, how are you?" Some people when I smiling they like [makes dismissive sound] you know? Then I feel "Oh!" too...

S: And it makes you feel bad?

Y: Feel bad yeah.

S: OK.

Y: Sometimes.

S: OK, so, so maybe is this something that, maybe in Scotland, in our society, something that needs to improve? We need to do more to be friendly...?

Y: Not everyone.

S: OK.

Y: I think it's eh, 5% or something.

S: Oh right.

Y: Yeah too little.

S: OK so it's maybe not a big problem in society here.

Y: No no.

S: It's just maybe a few people.

Y: They're helping people on here.

S: OK.

Y: Yeah helping people on here.

S: Have you noticed though – I mean you've been here for quite a long time – is there anything here about Scottish society about the way of life here that you think "Hmm, that's not very good" or "That could get better?"

Y: Ah I know, I know. I think, I don't know in this culture like this one. In India, when lived a woman and man and after the marriage. On here, I can...I'm not enjoying, I'm not agree with that culture you know?

S: OK

Y: Yeah.

S: So people who live together but they're not married?

Y: Yeah live together not married, and this way one boyfriend, then out, then another way. I think No. I feel [..?...] you know, my kids saying some friends, heard from some friends saying "I don't have any Dad", I feel too sad because you got the Mum and Dad and you living together. And I wish I got my Dad and my Mother living. Or sometime when I listen the news I feel very very...you know - feelings you know? I think that's too bad on here. Only one thing I feel like this one.

S: OK, so maybe families don't stay together.

Y: Don't stay together yeah.

S: Uhuh, OK. Em, but in your culture, in your country, divorce is...

Y: Yeah divorce is also yeah...

S: They happen, but not so much.

Y: Not so much, yeah.

S: OK. And it's better that they don't happen so much?

Y: Better yeah! (laughs) And someone in my country, some people little bit, one man got two wife.

S: Uhuh?

Y: Yeah. That's also. Not my family! Not anywhere, some my...I know some friends...two...

S: OK. And are you saying that that's a good thing or a bad thing?

Y: No, bad thing I think bad thing yeah.

S: OK, OK.

Y: I feel one of the, one man and one girl, they altogether the family you know? That's a better idea.

S: OK.

Y: Other ways then you you know the shouting, I don't know the mean...

S: Arguments?

Y: Arguments. I don't like. Calm and cool that's nice.

S: OK, OK that's fine. Right so, I mean you're seeing that some things are wrong or maybe not so good in Scottish society. Is, is, do you feel that, you know, maybe you or people like you could do things to help change Scottish society? Could you help to make Scotland a better place? Or is that not your business?

Y: No, sometimes I can speak another people you know, when I speak like this one then I don't know the good way or bad way or thinking you know? I don't know. So I'm silent. I'm thinking in my mind you know? Only in myself. I want to...

S: But you don't actually tell people how you feel?

Y: No no. Because...sometime will be disappointed my speaking so I didn't.

S: You don't want to make people angry?

Y: Yeah no. I don't want.

S: OK, fair enough. Em, if we think about the ESOL course that you're doing now, you've been studying in the college since October. Em, now you said that you feel now that you're in a position where you maybe have a bit more time, *your kids are in school, this is maybe an easier, a good time for you to study...*

Y: Yeah yeah...

S: *Are you thinking in the future of maybe finding a job or...?*

Y: *Yeah finding a job I want to help my husband because only he is working and he making, I am sitting and eating.* That's no good in my...in India the ladies...now it's OK. Before, not going anywhere, not do anything work you know, only do housework and cooking, that's enough. When the man coming to bring the money and something, doing some material something in home, the, only woman making food and cleaning, that's enough. *Now I thinking, now that's not good idea. Now I thinking man and woman both are equal.*

S: OK.

Y: *Equal. I think equal you know.*

S: *And so both should participate in everything?*

Y: *Yeah yeah in everything.*

S: *And is this an opinion that you have formed since you started living here? Or did you have that idea back in India?*

Y: No no no. When I coming on here, then I got this idea. But even I'm still in India, then I will not come here, if I'll not come here then I'm same. No all... Now I'm changed. I need to going out, I need to speak English, I need to learn everything. And I want to go job, I want to look after my family.

S: Yeah

Y: Yeah.

S: Good. And is this...how does your husband feel about this?

Y: Yeah. Sometime he also can "No you can't study and you look after my only my kids that's enough".

S: Yeah.

Y: Now I think no that's my feelings. Sometimes I feel so bad, especially me and my husband when I (laughs) the argument something. Oh, if I go on any job then he doesn't tell me like this one. I want to go job!

S: OK so you kind of feel that it would, it would make you feel better about yourself, do you mean?

Y: Yeah, yeah.

S: ...to have that independence...

Y: Yeah yeah.

S: OK, OK, well that's interesting. Em, so the ESOL course that you're doing, you've said that you know English is important for everything...

Y: Everything yeah, here first, is the number one thing is you want to speak English, you want to learn English. The most. First we need to learn English, yeah.

S: And so the course that you're doing here, your ESOL course, is it is it the English, the fact that you're learning more vocabulary, better grammar, is that the only thing that you're interested in, or do you think that you're learning other things on this course as well?

Y: Yeah both. Both. I need to speak English also and then I need to go to job. If I got a job before I need to learn everything.

S: So, sometimes in this course we will talk about different topics you know? Not only about grammar but sometimes we talk about eh living in Scotland and what life is like for you coming here and important things for you to learn about. Em, is that good, that we do that? Or would you prefer that we're only concentrating on grammar and language?

Y: No no everything. We need to everything because we got a general knowledge.

S: OK.

Y: Otherwise you only grammar and only same like that, notebooks you know? I don't want this one, I want everything. Because I'm coming into a village. I don't know much more general knowledge.

S: I see.

Y: When I coming here then I'm learn little bit, every day I'm learn little bit more and more more.

S: Alright so it's not only about language education, it's about kind of general education?

Y: General education also that's good, yeah.

S: Uhuh...OK. And do you think that is especially important for you because of where you grew up in a small village? Or do you think it's important for everybody in the class?

Y: Everybody, I think everybody it's helpful. Yeah. Not me, only me. I think everybody.

S: OK. Em, something, I don't know if we spoke about this in class but, as you know this is a college, most of our money comes from the government, the Scottish government pays for your English course, really...

Y: Yeah yeah.

S: ...em the government has a policy about learning ESOL, and one thing about that policy is that they would like eh people who are learning English to be able to learn enough English so that they can participate actively in Scottish life.

Y: Yeah.

S: OK? So if we think about that – participating in Scottish life – what exactly does that mean for you, in your opinion?

Y: Here, here people, you know, not he came, she came from India, she don't want to participate on this one. Not like this one. Here us, everyone, we can together in Indian, Pakistan, everywhere we can together, you know?

S: OK

Y: That's good idea.

S: So bringing everybody together

Y: Bring yeah, doing everything.

S: And...I see. OK, so you're saying then that it's a bad thing if people come from one culture and then they only stay together? They...

Y: That's not a good idea...

S: ...don't speak to people from other cultures.

Y: No that's not good idea.

S: Ok.

Y: I think it's a mingle one, everything want to mingle.

S: Right, so mingle all the different nationalities together..?

Y: Yeah, yeah, nationality everything, yeah.

S: OK.

Y: And the celebration also. Not...when I coming on here I didn't celebrate the Christmas ever, not. When I came here then, now, me and my family, celebrate Eid and Christmas and everything! Yeah! Also some friends saw, sometimes my Mum is little old, you know? My Mum saying "What did you do? Celebrating the Christmas? We are Muslim!" (laughing) We say "Mum, that's the old thing, you know? Now it's everything all things to the people", you know? Everyone to good in heart you know?

S: You don't worry, or maybe your Mum worries that...

Y: Mum no, was my Grandmum.

S: Oh, OK.

Y: She's old.

S: But maybe she has a point. I'm not saying she's right, I'm not saying I agree with your grandmother, but you know, do you not maybe worry that if you start doing things like that, celebrating Christmas, you're gonna lose your own culture a little?

Y: You know, two, about two months before I got a problem, because me and my husband we are going on friends, they're Hindus, yeah?

S: OK.

Y: We're celebrating our own celebration you know? Then when they are going their house they're putting Bindi, you know? The colour on here?

S: Is this for Diwali or...?

Y: Yeah Diwali, Diwali, put on here. We are not doing like this one. We are put "OK, just enjoy" we are all enjoy...

S: So they gave you a little mark on your forehead

Y: Yeah little mark in head, in forehead. My husband take the picture then put the Facebook.

S: Oh, OK.

Y: Oh God! I got too many messages: "Why? Don't you put the forehead the bindi! You are not Muslim?"

S: Yeah.

Y: You know? Everything in my village...

S: So people back in your own country.

Y: Yes! In my village calling me "XX" (my nickname is XX) "XX what are you doing? You're putting the bindi on your forehead. Here the people, the oldest people, in the mosque people you know, they say you're doing something wrong. What are you doing?" Then I'm scared. Oh my God, how can I go in India back? Then they are talking and asking me.

S: OK.

Y: My husband saying "leave it there, because all in our belief...in our...religion, all want in heart, you know, you don't want to show another people. You got any religion on your village, Allah you can stay on here [points to heart].

S: It's a personal thing.

Y: It's personal thing for my, everything. Leave it.

S: And do you think it's OK now?

Y: Yes, OK, just go.

S: Did you have to explain to your Mum or your parents or explain to your family?

Y: No, I ask my brother "Did you hear something", he was "No". That's OK my Mum also same like me. It's OK, it's all our own business. You can say the people that's own business, you don't want to include them, that's it.

S: But it's still important for you to continue to practise Islam and for you and follow your traditions...

Y: I'm also doing like Muslim. I'm every day five times we are doing the prayer, you know?

S: Do you, do you feel that you, that it's OK, it's no problem for you to do this when you're living here? Do you, you don't think there's anything in Scottish society that maybe stops you from doing this or makes it difficult?

Y: No, no, it's OK.

S: Sure?

Y: Yeah.

S: OK

Y: That's all

S: I'm just thinking for example, you know, it's Friday, it's ten to one...

Y: It's the prayer time

S: Yeah

Y: I know

S: Shouldn't you be doing your jumma prayers now or..?

Y: No.

S: It's OK?

Y: In my culture you know, the mens go in the mosque. And the girls doing in our home.

S: OK.

Y: We can time 2 and 30. Until the 2.30 we can pray.

S: OK, alright, so you still have time.

Y: Yeah I have time.

S: OK. I don't want to keep you too long because ...(both laugh)...Alright, that's very interesting, I...yeah...

Y: Sometimes my daughter saying "Mum, we don't want any religion" (laughing) yeah because she got the some friends. They...

S: Scottish friends?

Y: Yeah Scottish friends. They're speaking like "Mum, we need to change like Christian, that's better."

S: Uhuh?

Y: Yeah! Sometimes my daughter saying...

S: And how do you feel when she says...?

Y: No, no no. We can everything but we need to in heart only one.

S: OK.

Y: In my heart so.

S: OK but, I mean, does that not worry you? That maybe in the future as your daughter gets older...

Y: No, no no.

S: ...you cul..her culture might...

Y: My brother-in-law with my husband's brother, she married one Christian.

S: OK.

Y: Yeah. Then he say "No religion. We all people like same, you know"? He teach my daughter no religion. We can love all together that's better. We loving only people, not religion.

S: I see.

Y: Yeah.

S: OK, alright, so you're quite comfortable with that then, if people make a personal decision, that's their decision?

Y: When she's saying, asking like this one then I'm shouting her "No, you don't do like this one, we need to believe our religion", you know? Then, not I'm told her, just I'm self thinking she's also same...

S: Maybe she's right? Maybe she has a point?

Y: Yeah!

S: Uhuh?

Y: But not tell to her (laughs) Because she will go...

S: OK, alright so what you tell her and what you think might not always be the same.

Y: Yeah.

S: I know. I'm a parent too, I know how that can be. OK, I don't think I have any more questions, is there anything else that you would like to tell me on this subject?

Y: No it's OK.

S: Sure?

Y: Yeah.

S: OK right that's great thank you very much.

4. Agnieszka

S: OK so it's the 8th February today. Em and, em, maybe you could start by just telling me a little about how long you've been here and where you came from and why you came..?

A: OK (laughs). Em, I live here um maybe a little bit more 1 year because I came in October 2016 [actually it was October 2015], when I started the course in ESOL. Em...

S: OK, and why did you choose...you've come, you're from Poland right?

A: Yeah I'm from Poland, from Krakow, em, I live here because my old friend live here. She live here 10 years, here, so I came to her.

S: OK.

A: Yeah.

S: OK. Em, were there, was it just so you could be with your friend or did you, did you have any particular em desire to come to Scotland in particular?

A: A different direction, something like that. I wanted to learn English...

S: OK

A: So that's why when I came here I start the course. This is my first direction in here, very important yeah.

S: So learning English was a main reason for you coming here...

A: Yeah yeah.

S: OK.

A: And I think that the economy situation, because in Poland more people have the Master degree, finish university and they are not found a good job, they are not have a good job so that's why maybe he leave from Poland to a different countries. I think that this is a big problem with that.

S: And have you studied at university?

A: Yeah.

S: So what qualifications do you have?

A: Uh Geography and Tourism.

S: And is that a university degree?

A: Yeah, university. 5 years and I've got the Master degree and I'm not found in Poland a good job...

S: OK

A: ...in this direction. So this is my plan then, I came here and...

S: OK.

A: ...maybe I should try do something else, something different.

S: Well you're working at the moment yeah?

A: Yeah.

S: Tell me about your job, what do you do?

A: I'm working in gym, in the reception, on the reception, and eh, I speak with Scottish people every day, but not a lot (laughs) it's very short conversation.

S: OK, just lots and lots of very short conversations?

A: Yeah. Sometimes maybe a little longer, it's dependent which person, but this is the easy conversation, not something difficult. Yeah.

S: But, you, you left Poland because you have a postgraduate qualification and you can't find a job...

A: Good job.

S: ...a good job in Poland...

A: Yeah because the salary in Poland is very low, so you cannot live a good...you know...

S: Mhmm, but now you're working as a receptionist in a gym.

A: I know, this is not good job right now for me, it's very basic, but I can learn English more...

S: OK.

A: ...and I think that I can develop more here than in Poland.

S: In what way? How do you mean?

A: Because I can use English all the time. In Poland it's just the lesson or, everybody speak in Poland in Polish, so I can't learn more, it's more difficult. But here I think that my eh, my level will be more faster higher, I think that.

S: Yeah, OK. Alright so really it's the fact that you're using English a lot that's the thing that you feel you're developing in...by living here...?

A: Faster, yeah.

S: But...eh, sorry if I'm saying "but"...

A: Mmhmm?

S: But is it not the case that English is actually a barrier for you here? Because you know, you can't get a job at a very high level, maybe using your postgraduate qualifications, because your English level is not quite up there yet..?

A: Yeah, yeah. That's why I go to ESOL and I want to go to the next level and higher. Yeah.

S: OK. I'm just I'm, I'm trying to to, sorry I don't mean to be unfair or anything, I'm just trying to work out, eh, that you, you left Poland because you couldn't find a good job, and then you came here and you still haven't got a particularly good job, or a job that matches your qualifications...

A: Yeah.

S: ...but you think, you say that that's OK because you can still practise your English...

A: Right now because I want to em find a better job and I want to em, I forgot the word, em, I want to change my job. In future.

S: OK. Right. So this job is just a short-term...

A: Right now, this job it's good for me because I can learn in ESOL. I can go to the ESOL class.

S: I see.

A: Em, if I finish the class I go to work and this is my all day (laughs).

S: OK so you've got a very kind of English, lots and lots of opportunities really to develop your English.

A: Yeah yeah.

S: OK the...go on?

A: No it's the salary is very important because...

S: Ah.

A: ...in Poland the basic salary it's not too high...

S: OK.

A: ...so if you stay or live alone eh, you cannot do a lot of things. Because your money it's not too high. It's very low, it's very basic.

S: Right.

A: Here if I've got the basic salary I can buy more and I can live in myself in my home.

S: You can support yourself.

A: Yeah, yeah.

S: Alright so even though the level of your job is maybe not particularly high here the salary is enough, better than it would be in Poland?

A: It's enough. Better than Poland.

S: OK, OK.

A: So this is the reason (laughs)

S: Another reason.

A: Yeah.

S: OK. Are...do you see your life as being here now in Scotland? I mean are you planning to stay here forever? Or do you think at some point you will go back to your country, or maybe to another country..?

A: I don't know, it's dependent. Because right now I don't want to stay forever here, maybe a few years and then go back to Poland...

S: OK

A ...but we will see. Sometimes your plan it's changed.

S: OK. During the time that you're here of course you want to be able to do the best you can...em when you first arrived you had support from your friend I suppose, who was here before...

A: Yeah. She helps me a lot on the first time yeah.

S: Yeah, no I'm sure and, and what about now? Do you still feel that...do you rely on other Polish people for support or do you feel that you, do you have Scottish friends or maybe work colleagues that you can get support from, if you need help or..?

A: Yeah. Sometimes it's not my friend but maybe the clients who came in my gym, he came, they came and train every day. So I speak with them every day, every time. And if I ask about something or if I need help I can ask for advice or something and they are very help me, helpful for me.

S: Right so these are colleagues and clients, both of them you're able to get support from? OK eh, do you sort of feel now that you're...you've been here for over a year now so, are you starting to feel that you're part of society? Part of this country? Or do you still see yourself as somebody on the outside? You know – a foreigner?

A: No I don't think so. Maybe it's not the same but the Scottish people when they speak with me they are "Oh my Pole, My Pole!" They are speak with me very comfortable? Yeah, it's...I do the same so I think that I'm not the outside.

S: Right so you feel quite comfortable...

A: Yeah quite comfortable...

S: Like you're at home..?

A: Yeah.

S: OK.

A: Maybe not in home because the mental, the Scottish people have a different mental, maybe a little bit, but if we talk about, I don't know, something topic, they are quite similar my idea or other people idea...

S: OK

A: Quite similar

S: If you have different ideas...

A: Yeah?

S: Is is that a problem?

A: No it's not a problem they are very open-minded, so...

S: OK

A: It's good.

S: Alright so do you feel that it's not too difficult for you, or maybe it is difficult for you, to kind of keep your own identity if you like? You know, do you still see yourself as, you know, you're Polish?

A: No I don't have any because eh, Scottish people they are know, sometimes I'm surprised because someone's coming and eh, he say "Oh my gosh, Polish girl!" And they are know where is Krakow, the Scottish people fly to Poland, eh, to Poznan, Warsaw, Krakow and they are knows where is, and all the stuff, all things about the Poland so...

S: OK so...

A: It's very nice (laughs)

S: OK, so you feel then that Scottish people are, maybe because there are so many Polish people living here maybe, we're starting to learn a little about Polish people and Poland...

A: And the Polish words! (laughs)

S: Yeah, that's true, yeah. People start learning a few Polish words as well...

A: That's very nice

S: ...you see Polish shops and things.... That's a positive thing then yeah?

A: Yeah this is the positive.

S: OK. So if we go back to this word Integration, you know we've talked about this before, em, do you feel that you've, is integration, not just about you personally but maybe in general...is it about people coming into the country, changing their ideas to be more like the local people, or is it the local people's responsibility to be more open maybe and change, to adapt for the new people coming in?

A: Mhm...

S: Or...is it...maybe it's both, I don't know, what do you think?

A: (laughs) I think that it's dependent of the person because I think that I'm, I don't want to be changed, I want to be the Polish (laughs) so this is the natural I think. But I think that the Polish people want to be integrate with Scottish people and...both sides, you know. Because we need the support from community, from the Scottish people and, both sides. I think that this is important for both sides.

S: For both sides?

A: Yeah.

S: Ah, so Polish people can get support from Scottish people, but also maybe Scottish people can benefit from Polish people living here?

A: Mmm, I think. Maybe not benefit but we work, to Scottish people, we work with Scottish people, so every day we, everybody's, you know, em, I don't know what say. We are live together, we work together so this is very important. You can eh, the support or help, something...

S: OK so it's kind of like everybody's mixed together...

A: Yeah exactly...

S: ...so we have to learn how to cope with that, a more diverse society.

A: Yeah.

S: OK. Do you feel...because I don't really know, I know a lot of Polish people from my job, but I don't really know what happens in the Polish community, outside. I mean, is there a, a strong Polish community? Do Polish people tend to stay together? For maybe some activities maybe? Or are you quite mixed in with Scottish society?

A: I think that...(laughs) it's dependent but the most Polish people I think that they live together, maybe. Because I know the Polish people who lives in the flat and everybody's Polish live together.

S: In one block of flats?

A: Block of flats or in home or in neighbourhood, something like that so we em, they are take together.

S: Is that a good thing or a bad thing? In your opinion?

A: I think that's a bad thing. Maybe not bad thing, maybe they are support, maybe support more than Scottish people...

S: Right.

A: ...but if we live here because it's not my country so I must learn English, I must maybe more flexible because I live here, so I must do something else. Because this is the Scottish...

S: OK...

A: You know what I mean! (laughs)

S: I think so yes, so it's important to try to make some kind of effort to, to become, well to learn more about how things work here..?

A: Yeah yeah yeah.

S: OK, So it's not only about the Polish community supporting each other, it's also important to make contact and make connections with...

A: Exactly, with Scottish people.

S: OK, right. And do you mean with Scottish people or with Scottish, I don't know, official systems in Scotland and things like that, is that important as well? Like, I don't know, the job centre or employment agencies or signing with a doctor, all that..?

A: Yeah it's very important.

S: Do you feel that you, did you get, when you first arrived and you had to do all of those things, did you get help mostly from other Polish people or from Scottish people? Or...?

A: Emm, from Polish people because I came to my friend and she's very helpful to me and she find for me home and...I found job myself but the first time she helped me a lot.

S: Right OK. Do you still rely on her for help or..?

A: No no, now I'm...

S: You're on your own now.

A: Yeah (laughs)

S: That independence that you have...

A: Yeah.

S: I mean you're a young woman on your own in a country...the fact that you have that independence, is that something that you think anybody can do? Or are you maybe quite lucky or...well maybe not lucky, just very

good at being independent, maybe you're a very strong woman I don't know. Is it, is it, do you think it's easy for a single woman to come to this country?

A: No it's not easy (laughs). But I think that maybe I've got a little bit lucky because I found that not too hard work, because I sitting and talking with people, speaking with people, and different people finded harder job in the factory or something so, this is harder. So I think that I am lucky (laughs) right now but yes it's hard because you must live alone, you must buy everything, you must help each other for, no...

S: Help yourself?

A: Yeah, help yourself. Exactly.

S: And you have to look after yourself, yeah.

A: Yeah, yeah.

S: Em, of course you, you're from Poland, you're from another European country. Polish culture and Scottish culture they're different but they're not very different.

A: Not very different no.

S: You know there are lots of similarities. Do you think that maybe for people who come from other countries, other cultures, will they have the same experience to you or do you think it might be more difficult for them or..?

A: I don't know, I think that will be more difficult because if the difference they are more, um, idea more different eh maybe it's the more difficult for those people who came to other countries.

S: Right, just because they have to make bigger changes?

A: Big barrier or something.

S: There might be more barriers as well...?

A: More yeah.

S: Yeah more barriers and maybe bigger barriers too. So, I don't know, can you give some examples? Maybe things that are not a problem for you, or not too difficult for you, but might be a bigger problem for...

A: Documents?

S: OK. Can you explain that more?

A: I've got just only passport or ID and I can come here. We will see what's happened [laughs]...

S: That's true

A: But right now...

S: You don't need a visa.

A: Exactly, this is very easy. Because I go to the airport and fly here.

S: Yeah and that's all.

A: That's all.

S: No visa, work permits or...

A: No visa, this is, this is the bigger barrier.

S: OK, now. You spoke before about em you know when you're living here in Scotland and you think it's important for immigrants to perhaps eh learn the language maybe, and learn a little about Scottish culture, but you also said that it's important for Scottish people to maybe be quite open about other nationalities...

A: Other nationalities

S: ...and for us to make an effort to learn a little bit more. Em, when it comes to the the way that this country works, and the future of our country, if Scotland is becoming more diverse, more multicultural...

A: Mmhmm.

S: ...which it is, do you think that this will affect how our society is in the future? Do you think that things might change because of the influence of immigrants?

A: Yeah. I think because if people em, all the time came here em this is the mix, so maybe for I don't know couple of years, maybe it's changed. I think.

S: OK

A: But it's dependent.

S: Do, Can, bleurgh...do you think it will change for the better? I mean, can, I suppose my question is Can immigrants help to make Scotland a better place, in your opinion?

A: I think (laughs), but we will see. It's dependent which people came here.

S: Oh! OK...

A: Because eh if people came who want to, I don't know, change something, and if they are helpful for other people, I think that this is good ways to the future.

S: OK. But..?

A: But..? (laughs)

S: I don't know you said it depends on which people...?

A: Yeah, yeah. Because...

S: So how could it be bad?

A: Eh, if people who came here it's closed to the group in culture and they are closed and not open for another people, another culture, this is bad.

S: OK.

A: ...because they are the small group, they are maybe fighting in the future. You know what I mean.

S: OK so they might get isolated or segregated..?

A: yeah segregated, yeah. This is the bad.

S: OK, and so, right. So I suppose you mean then that it's important to, em...

A: The culture is very important but it's not what I'm saying that I want to, the one culture, No no no. The everybody save the culture, the Polish culture or different countries, but this is very important if you are open mind, if you are more open mind for other cultures.

S: Right OK so multiculturalism is good, is fine, em but we need to be able to, what, respect, to understand each other's cultures..?

A: Yeah yeah exactly.

S: OK. Thank you. Now, you've spoken already about how English is very important for you. It was even a big reason for you to come here in the first place.

A: Yeah.

S: Do, so when you think about when you eh are learning English, do you think that it's...are you learning English so that you can continue with your future here, or are you learning English because you're thinking one day I'm going to go back to Poland and if I go back to Poland bilingual I'll get a really good job? I mean, which is the biggest motivation for you? Is it...?

A: It's both (laughs).

S: OK.

A: Because it's very important when I live her I must speak fluently because I feel more comfortable. I don't like when I say something and I can't. This is the most hard barrier for me, because I want to say something and I can't because I can't found the words or something and this is the very difficult for me...

S: OK.

A: ...and I am the stress, nervous and oooh, you know what I'm saying? (laughs)

S: Yeah! I know exactly what you're saying. I know, I think we all experience that when we're learning a language. OK, well the ESOL course that you're doing at the moment, this is your second year in the college...?

A: Second year, yeah.

S: So you've got some experience of learning in this college. The, the course that you're doing here with us, do, does it meet your expectations? I mean, before you came I suppose you had an idea of what English classes would be like here. Is it the same as you imagined it would be or is it quite different?

A: No it's not quite different. I think that this is very similar because I thinking that my class will be maybe 15 person who wants to learn English and...I think that.

S: OK so no big surprises yeah? (laughs)

A: No, not big surprises.

S: OK, and is that a good thing or a...?

A: Yeah it's the good thing because I can speak each other and more practice.

S: OK, OK good. Em, the there is a thing, as you know, in colleges most of our money, college money, comes from the government, and the government has a policy for ESOL. And one of the objectives of this policy is that ESOL courses should help immigrants to this country, should help people to participate actively in Scottish life. So, what does that mean? How do you understand that, to participate actively in Scottish life? 'Cause I think lots of people understand it in different ways...

A: OK...

S: What's your understanding of that?

A: Mmhmm, Eh, English is very important, then you can, if you want to live here, if you speak very good in English you mmm, hmmm, you can integrate more with Scottish people and you feel more comfortable. Then Scottish people feel more comfortable too.

S: Aha! So if you can communicate directly with Scottish people, you become more comfortable in the situation and...

A: ...and Scottish people the same.

S: Because they're learning more about you?

A: Not learning, because they are speak fluent with me. Because if someone Scottish people or another person speak with me in English and I don't understand so there's difficult from me and from person who I talk.

S: Yeah OK, I see. Is it only about language though? Because, could it be that, em, maybe some Scottish people have some ideas about what Polish people are like and then they meet you and they think oh! She's not what I expected or oh! My idea about Polish people is changing now. Em, so it's not just about...

A: No it's just about just only work, it's the everyday life. So when you go out with people from work or if you go to shop and buy something or if you go to travel, it's everywhere.

S: OK, OK so it's, yeah. Participate actively in Scottish life. So it's about, so it's just about being able to communicate effectively, in every situation?

A: Yeah.

S: Is that what you mean?

A: In every situation.

S: It's not just about finding a job and paying tax.

A: No (laughs).

S: That's part of it though, right?

A: Yeah exactly.

S: But would you say that's an important part? The economic side you know?

A: Economic situation is very important and economic side but I think that we should speak fluently for every, every platform?

S: Yeah, OK, for all different situations. And when it comes to deciding what situations, is that up to you really?

A: Yeah, it's dependent of the person...

S: You must make decisions as to what kind of life you want to have here, is that right?

A: Yeah.

S: Is it? Did I just say that? I don't know if I'm saying your ideas...

A: No no no, it's the...(both laugh)... not decide it's the everywhere. When I go to shop, when I go to council, when I go to work, when I go to, with someone go out to the city, to the bar, everywhere.

S: All of that.

A: All of that.

S: That's all participation, active participation.

A: Yeah.

S: OK. And the course that you're doing, your ESOL course now, is it giving you that? Is it helping you to do these things?

A: Yeah it's helped me a lot. Eh but when I speak with someone in my work, help me more.

S: Ah OK.

A: Because it's, I've got only 3 hours so 9 hours in a week so it's not a lot, but something more. So it's good.

S: OK so it's a part of it though isn't it for you. Because you use English so much you can get so much practice...

A: I can learn grammatic or something...

S: Yeah

A: ...and I can speak with the classmates. But when I go to outside I've got more situation than I can speak with someone. So it's the, all of them.

S: Yeah yeah alright.

A: ESOL and the eh life situation the real situation outside.

S: So you're saying really, I think, tell me if I've not understood properly, but I think you're saying that you can learn – when we think about this participating actively in Scottish life, your ESOL course helps you with some parts of that but actually the practical...using English in your real situations, that's more helpful for you, is it?

A: Maybe not more because sometimes when I learn something in class I use these words. Eh, the weather or different topic, after when I learn these words I go to work and I can use these words with clients about this topic and this is very helpful. But after I got the more practice.

S: I see, I see. OK, so, but the two things kind of go together...

A: Two, the both it's very important.

S: We spoke before, a little, about em any kind of role or responsibility that immigrants can have to change Scotland, to make Scotland a better place. Em, do you think that, is this something that we should focus on in our ESOL courses, or is that just something that people can do themselves? Sort of outside, if if somebody, for example if somebody wants to set up a project to make their community better, or if somebody wants to do, go into politics and become a politician in this country. I don't know, should *should we, like English teachers, should we be doing stuff in college that would help you prepare for that or...*

A: No no it's just only outside because it's too big a topic to be difference. So I think that the, in ESOL course just in everyday life, something like that.

S: OK, OK. And then, sort of bigger things, more important things, how would people, how do people learn how to do that?

A: They are can go to the course, special course in this direction.

S: OK so they can maybe study something else?

A: Yeah, more specific.

S: Alright. OK good. I don't think I have any more questions.

A: Oh thank God! (both laugh).

S: Is there anything else you want to say? Anything that maybe I didn't ask you about but you think is important?

A: Hmmm, I don't know.

S: If you think of something later you can always tell me another time.

A: Yeah? I think that will be better. (laughs).

S: OK. You can go away now and relax no. OK thanks very much.

A: Thank you.

6. Belem

S: OK, so maybe, could we start, em with you just telling me a little bit about where you came from and why you decided to move to Scotland?

B: Mmhmm, I come from Spain, from Lloret de Mar, it is situated in the north of Spain, in Catalunya, near Barcelona.

S: OK, I see...

B: And we decide to come because my husband works as IT in Barcelona, and his company propose him to move for a project for 2 years with [company name]. So we think about the possibility to come and finally we decide to because I can get the leave of absence from my job and we find that it's a great opportunity to come for all the family, and, well we stay here for 2 years.

S: OK so, and you came here a year ago is that right?

B: Year and a half ago yeah, we arrive in October 2015.

S: I see.

B: Yeah.

S: And you said with your family so...you've got children?

B: Yeah I've got one son, year, six y...when he arrives he has 4 and a half years old, so he's quite small but well he's really a good integrated and, yeah, he's happy all this process has been happy, has been good for him. Yeah.

S: OK well that's very nice to hear. What about for yourself and for your husband, was, did you, was it easy for you as well or did you have a few problems..?

B: Not at all. For my husband it's quite easy because he has spent 5 years before in England, in London, with XX company?

S: XX.

B: Yeah, XX. And he has worked there for 5 years, well, go and coming back from Spain to London, and for him it's quite easy. And for me it's easy, it's completely different everything – all the system, the education, the the NHS system the doctor system everything is different, but I enjoy. I think that it is an adventure and I need to learn. It's positive, yeah. Everything is good.

S: You say that things are very different and you needed to learn...

B: Everything.

S: ...Give me some examples. Could you maybe just give me some comparisons between how things are in Spain, how things are here?

B: I yeah because for an instance I think that you have to apply for everything. This name - "application" – we don't use in Spain (laughs) here you have to apply, I don't know, for your GP, for the dentist, for the courses too, for jobs, for...you need to apply. I think it's more formal the system here than in Spain. And everything is different even, I want to do my CV and it's really different, your CV and my CV in Spain. I need some help to do that because I don't know how to. Everything is different, yeah.

S: OK. Right that's quite interesting because I kind of, I assumed you know – Spain, it's, it's Europe...

B: Yeah that's true...

S: ..you know and we've been, well not for long, but we're in the European Union we're still, you know...

B: Mmhmm.

S: ...I assumed that things would be very similar but you're saying that there are some really quite big differences?

B: Yeah, yeah. We are quite different. Well in Spain we say always that we are in Europe but it's the low part of Europe so we are more similar than African countries sometimes than North European countries.

S: Interesting! Well, historically there's a big influence isn't there...

B: Yeah yeah, that's true.

S: ...from North Africa.

B: Yeah, yeah.

S: I'm surprised though that Spanish people maybe identify with North Africa more..? Maybe not, maybe I'm not surprised I don't know...

B: Ah...well not with everything but we are, we are more happy in the meaning, as you told - Manana manana – we are not so structured and organised as you...

S: OK Ok, a bit more relaxed?

B: Yeah, yeah. Relaxed and, well, you can, I think here you have to follow the, the procedures?

S: Procedures, mmhmm.

B: Strictly. And everybody needs to do the same. And there probably well, if your CV is not OK then I'm your friend it's OK – we are not so, I don't know, strict?

S: Uhuh. OK. So if I go to Spain and I want to register with a GP, what do I do?

B: Well you need to prove that you are living there in a flat or a house – rent or buy – so you need to go to the council and they give you a paper as you live there, and then they give you a GP. They say "This is your GP".

S: OK so the council decides.

B: Mmhmm.

S: So the difference here then is that you must go to the GP is that right?

B: Yeah. When we arrived, well you need for everything a proof of address that in Spain you don't need the proof of address for everything. And here you need the proof of address for almost everything for bank account and see for the doctor for the school and everything. And in Spain I think it's little bit easier. Yeah.

S: So you said then that when you came you had to learn all of these new systems.

B: Yeah.

S: Did you learn by yourself or did you get any help or support from anybody?

B: No because when we arrived we are alone, we have no friends here, so yeah we have to learn ourself and read in Internet how to do that and read in Google everything. And it's a big effort because something I need to prepare and write carefully what I want to do and then go there, and follow all the instructions and eh, the things that in Spain you can do in one hour or one day, wow here last for (laughs) one week, ten days sometimes! I need to use my agenda and...yeah!

S: OK so just to, to try and first understand then to decide how to engage...

B: Exactly

S: ...how to work the solutions out, yeah?

B: Yeah.

S: OK. It sounds then that maybe you, you maybe could have benefited from some support, you know? If, I don't know...did you feel at any time like frustrated and Oh, nobody's helping me here! I have to do everything myself, it's difficult! Did you get angry with this?

B: No no not at all because everybody is really friendly with us, so I'm not feeling annoyed or frustrated it's just I think well it's a different system and I have to learn because I'm part of the system now so (laughs) we need to survive! Yeah.

S: Yeah. OK, em...let's try and think for...you know, you've come from Spain. Different administrative system, but still a European country. Do you know, I mean obviously in your class we've got people from lots and lots of different cultures...

B: Mmhmm...

S: Do you think that everybody has had similar experiences to you or different?

B: Probably similar no? Because they need to do the same kind of things, a flat, hire a flat or, yeah, all the how do you say I don't know – suppliers? Light supply as the Scottish Power, or go to the council...I think more or less the same, the same processes the same problems.

S: OK.

B: Yeah.

S: And you know, we have a, quite a large number of people coming to live in this country now.

B: yeah.

S: Do you think that Scottish people kind of do enough? I mean you said before you chose to move here so it's kind of your responsibility.

B: Yeah.

S: Do you think that Scottish people have some kind of responsibility to, maybe reach out and make it a bit easier for you?

B: No I don't think so because you have your own system and, well, I think that when a person moves and becomes an immigrant, you need to learn the things, how the things goes in this country so...

S: OK

B: Yeah. No I don't think that the government or the system has to change for you, you need to learn how things works here.

S: OK so maybe the system doesn't need to change but then at the same time when somebody comes into this country, because they are not familiar with the system, does that not automatically put them at a disadvantage?

B: Mmm, I don't think so. What do you mean? In order to...

S: Well just in order to do anything in life..?

B: No. I don't think so.

S: No?

B: No. But now I feel, I don't know how to say, more I have more sympathy for the people that comes in Spain for an instance, for the immigrants because now I've been an immigrant and now I can understand that things are not easy. And sometimes when came people to my country and I work in a tourist office, and sometimes they ask for I don't know, how to make a contract with the light company, and we explain and say "You need to do that, you need to go there and do that and that, and it's OK", and people ask a lot of questions and we think "It's not so difficult"

S: "Why are they asking?"

B: Yeah, you cannot understand because you have not been in this situation. But now I think Oh it's really, it's hard to move and start and, well, create your space, your own house. It's quite difficult. But not for the system. It's just because it's different as your country.

S: OK, OK. Em, now that you're here and you've been here for quite a long time, are you, you know, are you mixing with other Scottish people a lot or...

B: Yeah

S: ...is there a Spanish community that you're kind of involved in?

B: There's a small Spanish community just for the child's, there's a charity, the name is Soletes, and we meet each Friday but because there's some people that is in Scotland for a long time and they are married with a Scottish man or woman and one parent want that the child's keep talking, continue talking Spanish.

S: Yeah of course.

B And it's better with the other child's, meet other Spanish child's, and then continue speaking Spanish a little bit. And sometimes I go there and

I participate as a volunteer, so I used to go every Friday afternoon. And then there's another small community, Spanish community for my husband works, because there's a lot – now [Scottish company] is, has been buy, buyed...

S: Bought

B: ...Bought by [Spanish company] so it's a Spanish company and lots of Spanish come to work here. But we go with them but usually we are with Scottish, yeah, yeah.

S: OK, so, so...

B: We have Scottish friends from, I don't know from the park, or from the school, neighbours, yeah.

S: OK, so did it take you some time to make these Scottish friends or did it all happen quite fast?

B: No it happened quite fast. Yeah. And it surprised us. Because one time we went in the park and XX my son is playing there, and a Dad, a Scottish man, comes and says "Ah can my, my daughter plays with your son?" We says "Yeah yeah, why not?" And well we speak with this guy, he's a very nice guy, he says "Where do you live? We live here, where are you from?" We are speaking, we are speaking about a lot of things and he says "Ah you can come tomorrow at home and take a, drink a cup of tea", We say "Yeah why not!" And we are friends and he's really nice, and we think about XX and he says "It's amazing because probably in Spain we are famous because we are open and gentle and sympatic..?"

S: Yeah well nice.

B: Yeah nice, friendly. But I think it's just an appearance because it's not easy that the Spanish people – usually yeah? Not everybody but...- says to a foreign people "Ah tomorrow you can come at home and the childs can play and we drink a cup of tea". Because he don't know...

S: So you were surprised that you got that invitation so fast?

B: Yeah yeah, yeah yea. But it happens sometimes, it's not just for one time. It's happened for a lot of people. And we feel really good because, well, we are integrated. Yeah, it's nice, it's nice.

S: OK so you now feel that you've got some relationships with Scottish people, with local people. You've also managed to navigate the systems, negotiate the systems here...

B: Yeah yeah...

S: ...so a little difficult at first but with, you know, with some time, you've...

B: Yeah it became easier. For me, it takes about a year to be, well, good settled here and everything done, and everything under control. If I have something I think OK I go there, I do that without thinking a lot and prepare everything. About a year.

S: Yeah. OK.

B: And after that everything it's OK, under control, yeah.

S: Right so you're you know, nicely comfortable now, nicely settled.

B: Yeah.

S: OK well that's great, that's really nice to hear. Now that you are part, if you like, part of Scottish society...of course we don't know how long it will last, maybe you'll go back to Spain...

B: Yeah, yeah...

S: ...are you still thinking about that?

B: Probably we will go back on July, yeah. We feel little bit sad because we are enjoying a lot and now we have friends and we are happy. But at the end we think well, it's a period of time and everything has a start and a finish time. And we think that now we have to finish, come back home. And probably, who knows, in...because me and my husband likes to move and, it doesn't matter, probably in 3 or 4 years we come back, I don't know. Because we think that the educational system is better here than in Spain.

S: OK.

B: So we think probably move back in 3 or 4 years when Salvador is little bit older.

S: Mmhmm. When you say that you think the education system is better you're thinking about your son's education then, yeah?

B: Yeah my son's education. And then I go to XX Primary School and I'm volunteer there as a teaching assistant on Monday morning and, so, well, I don't know a lot but, well, I see something inside and I like how it works, the system. Yeah. For an instance they do 9 until 3, they have the lunch in this period of time, and the classes are more...in Spain we used to go to school, sit down and be all the hours sit in the same table, the same space, change the teacher but you learn a lot of theoric... And here it's more, I think it's funnier for them because they do a lot of activities and...

S: More active?

B: More active, yeah.

S: OK, alright well that's interesting, so you feel then that maybe Salvador is getting a, a more interesting education or a more, a better education here?

B: I think better education, yeah. And he feels really happy with the education system here because 2 or 3 weeks ago he say me, he told me, "Oh Mum I want to stay here P3, P4, P5, P7, all the primary". And he says "I'm really happy in the school". And he's a child, he's happy everywhere but I think he's enjoying more the school here than in Spain.

S: That's interesting. Are you worried that when he goes back to Spain he might be sad, he might be unhappy?

B: Ah, a little bit worried. He's a nice, a very nice guy and he's adaptable. Because we're worried when we come to Scotland, when we come here, but if he, if he see us happy and everything OK I think he's happy everywhere because sometimes we say "OK XX now we come back to

Spain for 3 weeks" – "OK we come back to Spain". "OK XX now it's time to go to Glasgow". – "Ah OK". He has no big problems at all...

S: Maybe because you do it a lot...

B: Yeah, probably.

S: He sees it as kind of normal, not big adjustment for him.

B: Yeah, yeah. And now, well he has really good friends here – close friends – and we are a little bit sad here because probably he will miss when we move back. But it happens to him when we come and it doesn't worth a big drama. He remind his friends but...it's no problem...

S: OK, so...

B: ...Probably if we stay here one or two years more, probably the thing will be worse.

S: That's true maybe he would, he becomes more settled here...

B: Yeah yeah...

S: ...it makes it more difficult. Uhuh. Oh it's a tough choice!

B: (laughs) Yeah really difficult.

S: You're speaking very positively about your experiences here and that's great – I'm very happy to hear that. Em, I'm just I'm wondering you know, alright the education system here is good, you like the way things work here, the administrative systems you say are different – not worse...

B: No

S: ...just different...

B: Just different.

S: Is there anything about Scotland or Scottish life or society here that you feel not happy about? That you think maybe should change, or could change? Just to make, I don't know, to make life better here?

B: ...

S: Any, any experiences that you've had where you think "Oh, that's not very good"?

B: No, no in fact no, no. I think everything is a little bit better than Spain (laughs).

S: Really?

B: Yeah, because the, the times that you work are more, I don't know the word in English, more, to combine work and family.

S: OK. More family-friendly maybe?

B: Family-friendly yeah. Because in Spain ah we have a lot of work timetables and sometimes you finish work at 7, 8, 9 in the evening, and it's difficult to, well to, to combine everything – your family works, job and everything becomes a little bit difficult. For an instance [husband's name], when we're in Spain, starts at 8.00 in Barcelona, and he come backs 8.00 in the afternoon.

S: OK

B: He spends 12 hours in Barcelona working and commuting, everything. And here he starts at 8 but he finish at 5, so you have a lot of hours until you have the dinner and go to bed. To stay at home and share and...

S: When you have small children especially that's important.

B: Yeah, yeah. I think it's better. Then in school the same. In Spain, now they are having mid-term school holidays and I think it's nice because each month, month and a half they have one week, 5 days, one week of school holidays. In Spain we have three, four, five months together, and then you have three months in the summer.

S: Right, one big long holiday.

B: Yeah, big long. And I think here it's more balanced. And with the GPs and things like that it's, well, more or less the same. Just for apply, to apply, but it works more or less the same.

S: Right so not any, not a huge culture shock for you then, coming here.

B: No, no, no. And, I don't know I never been immigrant before, for so long time. But um, I feel really welcome, welcome? Because I found a lot of places to go, and feel integrated, to have classes of English, in libraries, or I don't know, these courses or. I think it's easy, it's easy for the people, for the foreign people...

S: Right OK so...

B: ...to learn...

S: Yeah so, so you feel then that there are enough kind of systems in place...

B: Yeah

S: ...to help people to become part of society here.

B: Mhmm.

S: OK great. Em, let's talk a little bit about the course that you're doing here, your ESOL course. You've been studying for, well, a few months now, in the college. Em, is this course, does it meet your expectations? Is it what you expected it to be? Or are you surprised or do you find anything a bit different from what you were expecting?

B: Mmmm no, it's that I expect. Yeah. In fact I feel it's a really positive to me because I'm hearing and speaking 3 hours a day, 3 days a week, during 3 hours English and it makes me feel confident and I learn a lot of things that, if I stay at home I cannot learn.

S: OK.

B: It gave me the possibility to improve a little bit. I'm not really confident in English because when I was young in the school we study French as a foreign language. And then I study German and Italian, and English as well but, I start studying English when I'm, when I was 17 years old so I miss a lot of grammar and a lot of things. And I never feel confident about my English. And some friend says "Ah you are improving a lot". Probably.

I don't know, but, but this course helps me to get more confident and more vocabulary and...yeah.

S: Well that's good. What was your main motivation to come to the college because, I think you were studying in a library before isn't that right? In a community centre or something?

B: Yeah! When we arrive in October and when I have everything done for [son's name] – choose a school and he's in school – have time enough. And I went to XX library, and I met there XX [an ESOL tutor], that you know XX isn't it?

S: I think so.

B: Yeah because she talk about you.

S: Yeah yeah yeah. Yeah I know who she is.

B: And we have a classes 1 days per week – conversation classes. And it was, I start on 3rd December - it's my birthday – and it was like a present birthday for me because I can speak during an hour, all the hour because I just speak in Tesco in the shop, with the bus driver, in the school, not too much because I don't know any parent at this moment...

S: Yeah yeah.

B: ...so it was like a present for me this day. And I go there every Thursday. Then in XX Library I met XX and XX [former college ESOL students].

S: Oh right, yeah yeah yeah.

B: ...and they told me "You can go to XX Library with XX [ESOL tutor] because there's grammar classes there". And also XX tell me "Why you don't apply for an ESOL course?", and that's the reason because I don't know anything about ESOL but she explains to me she is attending at this moment and, yeah.

S: OK so really you found out about it. So originally your ideas about, about doing some English classes were just to get some extra conversation practice – that's why you went to the library?

B: Yeah, yeah, mmhmm.

S: And then of course this course is maybe just a little more structured.

B: Yeah.

S: Is that important for you the, the possibility of qualifications and all that kind of stuff? Is that important or...?

B: Yeah it's important and, uh, libraries libraries are really good for me and I met some people there and it's nice, I like my teachers there too. But a structured course probably it's better because we have, well we follow some lessons, and I like to be part of the educational system and, I don't know, who know probably in 4 or 5 years we come back and I don't know if it will be useful in my CV but, well, it's there. Probably benefits more than than other things so, why not?

S: OK.

B: Everything you do is, is to improve and it's positive.

S: Yeah it's building on things you already have.

B: Yeah.

S: OK. The, the courses that we run in the college, and in the libraries I suppose, we have to think about some things that the government tell us about English language provision – ESOL courses. Eh because there is a government policy, a national policy for ESOL...

B: Mhm?

S: ...em and of course in this college most of our money comes from the government so we have to think about this. Em, one thing about the, the ESOL policy or ESOL strategy is that our ESOL courses are supposed to help people to participate actively in Scottish life.

B: Mmhmm.

S: That's one of the things that we're supposed to try to do, to help you to participate actively in Scottish life. In your opinion what exactly does that mean, "to participate actively in Scottish life"? How do you understand that?

B: Probably because you get more confident if you attend an English class, and English course ESOL, ahhh, if you are more confident you can participate in, well, in your community or as a volunteer, or other activities. Because you have the main tool – that is English, speak English little bit, or enough to be understood..?

S: Yeah.

B: Yeah probably is that the reason because if you have the main tool that is talk with the people around you, you can participate and you can be more confident and...

S: ...and get involved?

B: ...and get involved yeah.

S: OK. And why do you think that the government thinks that that's important?

B: Oh because eh, it's a way to avoid troubles with people, no?

S: Ok...

B: If not, probably you can do some ghettos or...

S: Ah so it's about bringing people together then? Is that what you mean?

B: Yeah.

S: To stop segregation or to stop different...

B: Yeah it's good...

S: ...isolation?

B: Isolation yeah it's good to maintain your own roots and everything because it's part of your life but you, you have to, not to be isolated and, well, try to understand that it's another country, another way of think and everything is different so you need to understand. And I think it's really clever because if you are living here you are part of this community, you

need to, to be, gentle and if you are gentle with the place and people of the country, they are gentle with you and there's less problems or...with the community.

S: So no kind of tension or conflict?

B: Yeah yeah. Because, I don't know but in my town in Spain there's a lot of immigrants too. Well it's a really touristic place so we are used to see all kind of cultures and people and personalities. But when the people goes there to live they used to stay, I don't know, Muslims with Muslims, Indians with Indians, really separate. And in fact here in the class uh, I have a friendship with [Christina] and [Ugur], and yesterday I am talking with my closest friend at home, and I tell him - her - that I have a Muslim friend now, and I'm discovering a lot of things what - I don't know, I have 43 years old and I have no Muslim friends! I know Muslim people but I don't know what they think about the religion and...it's positive. Yeah.

S: So now that you, you're socialising as well, not only, you're not only classmates you're friends...

B: Yeah yeah!

S: So do you feel this gives you the opportunity to maybe learn - you're not only learning about Scottish life, you're learning about other cultures too, yeah?

B: Yeah. That's true. And in fact we are all in the same situation more or less. Well I am here with my family, they are alone but sometimes you have the same feelings, and it's easy to understand each other.

S: And I suppose your experiences of Scotland and Scottish people might be very similar as well.

B: Yeah, yeah. That's true.

S: Right. That's really interesting. I I, I'm, A do find it quite interesting what you're saying there about participating actively in Scottish life it's about you being involved more in the community, but it's also, you you're not only - on your ESOL course - you're not only learning about Scottish life, you're kind of getting a multicultural experience? Is that right?

B: Yeah, yeah. Yeah.

S: OK, that is quite interesting.

B: I think when we go back home - well, it's sure - we're not the same as we were when we first arrived here. We have learned a lot of things - English little bit of course but, well, probably we are stronger than we arrived in a lot of things. Because we need to, to learn and learn fast because you need for your ordinary life a lot of things and, sometimes it's very, it's been very nice and good times, but also bad or, sometimes you feel a little bit alone but not for any reason just because, well you can have a bad day and you need to go up, without your help, instead your friends, your closest friends and you can tell "Oh, my day today is horrible!" and you need to...well, to manage yourself, no?

S: And you need to, you have to take on more self-responsibility then yeah?

B: Yeah. Yeah.

S: But you're not talking about that as if it's a negative thing?

B: No, no, no it's not a negative. It makes a bit stronger or, I can't remember now the name...ah, I can't remember, I will tell you.

S: Is it maybe "resilience"?

B: Ah! This one yeah, resilient, yeah.

S: Yeah? So you overcome a, you have a difficult situation and your ability to get past that.

B: Yeah. Mmhmmhmm. Because at home we don't have these situations. Everything is done and it's our environment, our normal life so everything is peaceful (laughs).

S: You don't have to, you're not forced to, you're not in a challenging situation so much..?

B: Exactly.

S: OK. Can I ask you one more question?

B: Yes of course.

S: Just about this idea of em, participating in Scottish life and learning a little more about what it's like to be here, and how to be more of an active member of the community.

B: Mhm?

S: Some people say that Scottish people are maybe not very active in their own community. And also some people might say that, although you've had some very positive experiences, some people have had some quite negative experiences, you know there is racism here, for example.

B: Mhmm, yeah.

S: There is, you know some people don't like the fact that immigrants are coming...so there are some negative things – I'm very happy that you've not experienced that – but you know...

B: Yeah, but it happens sometimes.

S: Yeah. You know if, you know, for people like you, for immigrants coming in here, we can give an ESOL course which helps you with your English but also maybe helps you with other things. Scottish people don't get that experience. You know. Maybe, is there a need, in your opinion, for some kind of similar education if you like for, for, that would be helpful for Scottish people? So that this multicultural idea or understanding of different cultures...that everybody could get it? I don't know. Do you think that would be a good idea or do you think it's necessary or, I don't know..?

B: I don't know. Ah, but in the library I think the people, the Scottish people, really participates in a lot of things because in the library with XX we have two womans, Scottish womans that came there and they don't need to learn English. But they came there just to speak with us as a (laughs) as a kind of charity.

S: So they were like volunteering their...?

B: Yeah yeah, volunteering. And no with the Scottish community, with the foreign community. And I really appreciate that because they are wasting her time in things that they don't need, no...

S: Or maybe they do? Maybe they do think that, maybe they don't think it's a waste of time, maybe they think it's a good thing?

B: Yeah probably. But ah, in Spain I think we think it's a waste of time (both laugh)

B: We are not so generous and...first in Spain for an instance there are no charities. Well, Red Cross and the big ones, UNICEF...but ah, you go to your work, you take care after your family, and you go out for a beer to drink a beer, but I never waste a minute of my life helping...I help everybody if I can but ah, it's not a part of my life as a routine, oh, as me and all of my friends. So I can think here you have a, you are more conscientious about, probably because it's your system and charities exist as a normal shop, I don't know. But in Spain we don't have the opportunity to participate. Because there's no, not a lot of places to go and help. You can help in your ordinary life, but not, there's no groups, no specific groups to go. So, probably there's Scottish people that don't like foreign, but, ah, the most Scottish people that I know, they are involved in a lot of things, and they are happy doing that. And me too, I'm happy going to the school, to the primary school and I'm happy in Soletes in the Spanish group. I'm really happy. And I think I'm lucky because in Spain I don't have this possibility. I can't go to a primary school and say "I want to come one day". It's not easy, it's not possible. And, I think I'm not Scottish, I can't speak English properly, but I have the opportunity to go and...

S: You can still help.

B: Yeah.

S: You can still make a contribution.

B: Yeah. It makes me feel, not important, but happy no? I have the opportunity...

S: You feel good about yourself?

B: Yeah yeah, yeah.

S: And maybe that's what the government means when they say "participate actively in Scottish life". Maybe they mean things like that..?

B: Probably. Or know that you have the possibility that you can help or share or participate....

S: OK, OK...

B: All the people. Yeah it's really nice.

S: OK.

B: I think when we come back it's not possible, but I will be really happy to 'import' some things that here works, why not? As volunteering and...we don't have this, this system but it's, I think it's nice.

S: OK.

B: And, and a friend of mine eh, a Mum of the school, the other day we talked about the weather and probably it will snow, and she explain that she lives in a road, a close?

S: A close uhuh.

B: ...and they have some neighbours and her neighbour is a very old man, 90 years old. And she says, well we have a bin – a salt bin? In the street the yellow bin.

S: Oh OK, yeah.

B: ...and because we know that he's so old we put grin?

S: Grit.

B: Grit in the, in the, his street because he can fell down. And I think everybody helps a little bit each other.

S: OK, OK, More than in Spain?

B: Yeah. It's a shame but (laughs) yeah. Yeah, in Spain we are, I don't know we think, everybody thinks about himself or herself. Itself. Yeah, yeah.

S: Only their own interests...

B: We are in the wrong way. Probably in 30, 40 years we will change. I always says that in Spain we had a *dictadura* from Franco for 40 years...

S: A dictatorship yeah.

B: Yeah and I don't know, I have 2, 3 years old. But everybody says that we have been, we have not developed as Europe, we are a little bit [subdeveloped?] in this...

S: OK so having such a long time, cause what 30-40 years of Franco?

B: Yeah 40 years, yeah.

S: Oh it's a long time yeah.

B: ...and the things doesn't have change and we have been really closed. Closed. Our minds and everything under his control. And probably we, our ways to do things are, I don't know if 40 but some ways behind Europe.

S: Uhuh? And you're still kind of recovering from...

B: Yeah.

S: ...there's a legacy from the dictatorship, from Franco's time?

B: Yeah. We, yeah because things are, well, things are oh, was going step by step in France, in England, everywhere in Europe. And in Spain in this moment we keep there for a long time. So we need to...because the educational system in Spain for a long time, I think it's not good. But eh, Spain as a country can check what they do the other countries. The European the North European countries. Because this, the PISA, the PISA...

S: The education scores?

B: Yeah, the education course always shows that Spain is, Spain, Italy, always the less. We're the pupils in the less of the list!

S: In the bottom of the list.

B: Yeah! At the bottom of the list. So they can improve, but to improve ah, takes a lot of years in Spain.

S: Yeah? OK.

B: So probably in I don't know 20 years we will have charities and this...

S: You just need to develop things a bit more?

B: Yeah, to develop a bit more. Yeah. It's my opinion, I don't know, I don't know. There's others that, well, they don't think that Franco eh, freno?

S: Suppressed? Suppress is to push down.

B Eh suppressed the country, yeah. The country and the skills and the ability of the people and the business and...yeah.

S: I suppose there, there might be different opinions about that...

B: Yeah, yeah.

S: But I'm asking for your opinion so that's great.

B: Yeah this is my opinion but it's political, so everybody has his own! (laughs).

S: That's alright, that's OK.

B: Yeah...

S: Good, right well thank you very much.

B: You're welcome.

S: I don't I don't have any more questions. Do you want to say anything more? Is there anything you think I did not ask that you think is important, about your experiences here?

B: No, no. Now I get, I'm thinking about the experiences that I get surprised when we arrive, they are silly things but in Spain we pay the taxes once a year, and we don't have the council, well we have the council tax but it's once a year you pay. In August you pay, I don't know, 700, 600 Euros per year, and here you have to pay each month.

S: If you want to you can pay it once.

B: Ah? I don't know...

S: ...if you prefer...

B: Ah!

S: ...it's just most people don't like that because it's one big one. We prefer to pay it small amounts...

B: Ah. It surprised us that you have to pay...

S: ...regularly?

B: ...yeah regularly each month, and we think it's really expensive. But ah, then, in Spain you have to pay too your taxes. And then you don't have...nothing no but few things in return.

S: I see.

B: Because you have to pay for the health care and everything. And here you have to pay nothing. Even the bills and the...

S: Prescriptions?

B: ...the prescriptions you don't have to pay. We are really surprised about it because in Spain you have to pay everything.

S: So higher tax but more return?

B: Yeah. More return. In Spain we need to pay...uh...my son there goes to a public state school, but we need to pay I don't know, 300 Euros a year for the notebooks, the pens, crayons, everything. Here we don't have to pay anything.

S: No, no.

B: And we are really surprised. And another thing that surprised me a lot is, with the bin. With the truck that comes to...

S: ...to empty the bin

B: ...to empty the bin, in Spain it's every night, and here just once a week and I always think but where's the bin, the bin is always full, and yeah it surprised me a lot.

S: Yeah. Yeah I know it's funny, small things like that, small differences can make a big, have a big effect on you.

B: Yeah. Because each night when I want to throw my bin away, my rubbish, and it's always full and I think wow it's just once a week, and it surprised me. But it doesn't matter.

S: But you should, do you not have different coloured bins for recycling?

B: Yeah, yeah.

S: So if you spread your...(both laugh)...if you recycle enough...

B: Yeah...(laughing)

S: ...it shouldn't get too full!

B: Yeah, that's true.

S: I think that's the plan, they're trying to encourage us to put more in the recycling. So they don't empty the green one very often because they want you to recycle more (laughs)

B: Ah! OK!

S: I don't know, maybe that's, maybe I'm wrong, maybe I'm being unfair.

B: I, I don't know. But here you produce a lot of rubbish...

S: Yeah we do.

B: Every day because everything is in packets and...

S: More than in Spain?

B: A lot. A lot more yeah, yeah.

S: OK, that's interesting.

B: Yeah every day we have to throw it away a lot more. But probably they want that we recycle. Yeah that's the...yeah because we have a small bin, that's the organic one?

S: Yeah, yeah they're trying but, it, it's true. They're...you're right. I, I suppose that's just one example of how the systems are different in different countries. And some people don't know. I had students in the past...because in our classes we talk about volunteering, we sometimes talk about recycling and things like that, and I've had students in the past who, they had a bin outside their flat, and then they had another bin. But they couldn't understand...why, why are we, why do we have two different bins? So they were just putting everything in the one bin. And they didn't understand that bottles, plastic, cardboard and things...

B: Yeah in Spain we recycle too, newspaper, bottles, organic and normal, normal...

S: But some countries don't have that system, you know?

B: Yeah. In Spain we have eh, not everybody recycles because we, we used to think, we have to pay – this is a very Spanish way of think – well if I pay, they do. You know? But we have different bins to recycle, yeah yeah yeah. But the way that we think is really different because I get surprised. Eh one day we are in the bus going to school, and a man ah, lose a pound. And somebody says "Oh, your pound!" And I think Oh my God in Spain (laughs) we are really...

S: Yeah would that go straight in a pocket?

B: Yeah you take the pound (laughing) and I think the people here is more honest than Spain.

S: Well it's good that you're having these experiences.

B: We have a [*pecadillo*], we are, a little bit, everything is fun but at the end it's not nice.

S: (laughs)

B: It's really not nice but we have this way. It surprised me.

S: Right, this is great. Right thank you, I'm going to stop this now.

B: OK.

S: If I can...

7. Nuha

S: OK so, maybe you could start by telling me a little about where you come from originally and how long you've been in Scotland?

N: Yeah I come from Sudan. I have been here for one year.

S: OK. And did you come here with family or alone or..?

N: Yeah I came here and join my husband.

S: Was your husband here first?

N: Yeah first, yeah. Have 2 years.

S: He was here for 2 years before...

N: Yes.

S: ...you came?

N: Yes.

S: OK. So, em did, did your husband come here as an asylum seeker?

N: Yes, come as an asylum seeker.

S: But now you're refugees, right?

N: Yes.

S: So you've got indefinite leave is that right?

N: Yes, I get it too.

S: And you too. Did you get it after you arrived or did you have to apply before you came?

N: Before I came here. Yeah. I get visa from Sudan after that came here.

S: OK so you came straight from Sudan?

N: Yes.

S: OK. Em, so your first language is Arabic, yeah?

N: Arabic yeah.

S: OK so, do, do you speak any other languages?

N: No. Just English. Not, there isn't any language.

S: OK. And did, did you eh, did you study English before you came?

N: Yeah but not more like here. A [??] the school, but in Sudan we speak in Arabic and study in Arabic all the things.

S: Yeah.

N: Just small English, not more.

S: OK.

N: Yeah. Even you study in an institute, part of study, you can't learn more because all of language is Arabic.

S: OK, so nobody speaks English really.

N: No.

S: OK. OK. Did you, did you study at university or at college there?

N: Yeah, just in Sudan there is not something college. After school just university.

S: I see.

N: Yeah. Here there is something college I don't know why.

S: Yeah, OK. So what, what did you study then?

N: Uh, animal husbandry, related to animal...

S: Right, mmm...

N: ...and especially in milk, milk processing.

S: Right OK so it's about making milk, milk products?

N: Milk yeah, cheese, yoghurt and powder milk.

S: OK. Did you find a job after that?

N: In Sudan?

S: Yeah.

N: No, it's difficult to find job in Sudan.

S: Mmm. OK. So em, you came here a year ago and, did you have children already?

N: Not yet...

S: Alright so this is your first...

N: ...this is my first baby yeah.

S: ...your first baby's coming in, what, 2, 3 weeks?

N: Oh, maybe 2 weeks! (laughs)

S: OK, very soon.

N: Yes.

S: OK. Em, so, since, obviously you and your husband and the baby are making a new life...

N: Yes

S: ...here in Scotland. Em, what are you planning to do because you've been to university, you've got a degree, you're studying English now, are you hoping to find a job in the future or are you more likely to – obviously when the baby comes you're going to stay at home with the baby – for a short time anyway...

N: I want to find a job, yes. Yeah. Or if I can't find a job, because I have no paper here - from Sudan the qualification of that – uh, I still looking for studying English. Yeah.

S: Is it, do you think you can use your qualification from Sudan in this country? Is it possible?

N: Uh I think it's possible, because you have already a background about what you study, you have experience how to do that, it's...yeah. It's easy.

S: OK. Good.

N: I haven't have any qualification with me right now.

S: I see. Right. So we need to find a way to get the paperwork, to get the paperwork over. OK. Eh, I suppose, thinking about a job, you need to think about the baby first because that's the (both laugh) that's the most urgent thing.

N: Yeah it's my first things.

S: When when you arrived, you know, you had to organise a few things. I suppose your husband had to organise a lot of things for you...

N: A lot of things yeah before I came, yeah.

S: Yeah. In your experience, since you arrived, did you find that, did you get the support that you need? Did you get help that you need from different people or...?

N: Yeah I get more help, and more support here.

S: Where did this help come from? Is it, is it from organisations or is it more from friends or..?

N: Some of friends, who knew what to do here. They say first you start to learn English, to know the language first, and for the Jobseeker, yeah they advise me more for a community – how to go and to share with the people. Yeah. So I get more help.

S: OK. So when you said friends – do you mean members of the same...

N: ...from the same...

S: ...the Sudanese community living in...

N: In the similar countries. Came here first, before me yeah. And know about, more things about for me. And I ask them what happened and what I do. Tell you...

S: And is there quite a good close community of Sudanese people here?

N: There is no close community because our friends you know him before you come here. Maybe your relative or your, just you know him here.

S: I see. Alright but it's not a very close...

N: No there is no close community to seeing every day or in a week. Yeah.

S: OK. Do you, so from what you're saying then that there's not like an area of Glasgow where lots of Sudanese people live? Or are you spread around?

N: Spreaded yeah. But I have a brother here...

S: OK.

N: Yeah he come here, eh have a, 5 years here.

S: OK.

N: Yeah.

S: So he maybe knows more.

N: Yeah he knows more he's help me more how to get my life here. Yes.

S: What about em getting support or help from like Scottish people – I mean from neighbours or friends.

N: Unfortunately I didn't get help from neighbours. I didn't know any Scottish, just you.

S: Really?

N: Yeah.

S: OK...

N: I don't know why. Maybe it's...don't know...but I hope that to know Scottish people.

S: Yeah. Is, is that, is your experience kind of normal for Sudanese women here, that you don't really mix with Scottish people?

N: It's not normal. Everybody is scared about you, I don't know why. Mmm, something not good.

S: Hmmm.

N: If you know the Scottish people it's make feel comfortable.

S: OK.

N: Yeah.

S: So at the moment then, because you don't have Scottish friends, really, em, that that, you're saying that makes you feel quite uncomfortable about being here.

N: Yes. Sometimes when you find in, in the lift or in some one place, you feel not, uncomfortable you only need speak with them, feel comfortable.

S: OK. Have you had any bad experiences?

N: No. No bad experience.

S: No kind of racism, bad comments or something?

N: No. No.

S: OK. But just because you don't know the people you feel...

N: Yeah. Just because I don't know the people, and how to deal with them because the, the accent is not like English.

S: OK.

N: Maybe you can't understand very well and..

S: Uhuh...

N: Yeah. Difficult for me to understand.

S: Uhuh.

N: Because I don't know this language.

S: OK, OK. That was going to be my next question, was who, whose fault is it do you think? Is it the Scottish people's fault, do they maybe not want to make friends with you? Or is it partly your fault because you're a bit shy about speaking to them? Or is it both...?

N: I'm not feel shy but I don't know the accent of language just.

S: OK, OK. OK then, fair enough...

N: If I know the language I can speak to them and deal with them, yeah.
No problem.

S: OK. Em, so you've said that when you've, since you've been here you've had support from other Sudanese people, and you've had help from people at the Job Centre...

N: Job Centre yeah.

S: Sort of like official people in jobs who...any other organisations? Only the Job Centre or...Scottish Refugee Council maybe or...

N: No. I haven't been there.

S: Nothing from them?

N: No.

S: OK. Do you feel, now that you have been here for a year and you've, you've, obviously you're using the health service cause you've got the baby coming and, you need all of these different services. Do you think now that you have everything you need? Or, or not?

N: Eh, I have everything, yeah. Because I'm waiting for my baby.
Because I get a lot of support from Royal Infirmary.

S: OK.

N: Yeah, and from income support.

S: OK.

N: Yeah. No not income support. Maternity, maternity grant? Yeah.

S: OK, so that helps you financially to buy...

N: ...to buy things for the baby.

S: Yeah, and you'll get the child benefit once the baby's born too.

N: Yeah, after the baby's come.

S: OK. OK, so you feel that you're getting some financial help, some help with money and enough help from maybe the jobcentre, the hospital – enough yeah?

N: Yeah it's enough.

S: But you still don't feel very comfortable?

N: (laughs) Sometimes. Yeah.

S: That's fine, that's OK. I'm just eh, interested to know that you, you're getting everything that you need, but maybe not everything that you want..?

N: Uhhh, I want to know the people and dealing with the people, I want to be a part of the society here.

S: OK, OK.

N: Yeah.

S: Is there anything that, that we could do? I say "we"...I don't know, that Scotland can do, to try and make it easier for you to become part of society here?

N: I don't know...

S: Should we make more effort? Should we try harder?

N: Like what?

S: I don't know! (both laugh). Eh, if people, I don't know, maybe people should maybe, ask you more questions or try to be more friendly..?

N: That is, it's good. And when they ask me about the weather or ask me about something, and make conversation, you feel it's good, to deal with them.

S: Yeah? And does that happen very much or..?

N: Not much. Maybe sometimes.

S: OK.

N: If I help someone with my...[her phone rings] Oh sorry for that.

S: Do you want to pause? Is it OK?

N: Yeah, it's OK.

S: Em so, talking about em things that can maybe make you feel more part of society here. So maybe Scottish people could be friendlier, maybe?

N: Maybe.

S: OK. Is there anything that you could do? Or anything that you, yeah that you could do or try to maybe help you to become more part of...when you say "be part of society" what, what do you mean?

N: Maybe if I work as a volunteer...

S: OK.

N: maybe get a lot of chance to know...yeah.

S: OK so maybe more chances to go out and meet more people?

N: Yes.

S: OK. Do you spend a lot of time at home then, you don't go out much?

N: I spend a lot of time in home, yes.

S: Hmm, OK. I mean at the moment you're pregnant so it's...(she laughs)...you're not going out dancing or anything.

N: No! (laughs).

S: Eh, OK, um, if we think about the future, em you've got a qualification, you have an area that you know a lot about...

N: Yeah.

S: Animal husbandry and food production...so, maybe later when the baby's older or whenever, when you start looking for a job, do you think that you can...I don't know, what kind of contribution can you make to Scotland? Do you think you can make Scotland a better place?

N: (Laughs) Maybe. Maybe. I can contribute to society for what I have. I can do my best.

S: Do you think it's important for immigrants to contribute to their new society? I mean is that like a responsibility that you have?

N: Yes. Maybe. **Because here the people is open mind. Accept the people like immigrants.** Not like the Sudan, if you were in Sudan, then no-one accept you. Yeah people scare about you, and if you have a something they say No no, don't like these people, maybe charity work or maybe it's doing not right thing for us. But here, it is good for you to share.

S: OK, OK. So if Scottish people are happy to accept immigrants, then maybe immigrants need to give something back? I don't know...is it, is it about giving something back or is it to make your own life better?

N: Maybe, I don't know.

S: Hmm. Yeah. I'm not sure about that. OK anyway you said that learning English was very important eh, so you're doing an ESOL course just now. Is this the first time you've done an ESOL course?

N: Yeah this is my first time.

S: You didn't study in libraries or community centres before or anything?

N: Yeah I studied before in community but not more, like one day in week, maybe two hours, like that. Yeah.

S: OK, so the course you're doing here, is it similar to the one you did in the community or is this quite different?

N: Quite different. In community is just small things, how to speak, how to know the people, just. **But here is more different, big things...ummm, more vocabulary, more grammars, yeah. How to speak.**

S: Is, is it what you expected from a college ESOL course or is it a bit...unusual? Were you surprised by anything when you started studying this course?

N: No, no surprise.

S: OK. So it meets your expectations.

N: Yeah.

S: OK.

N: It's the same in Sudan.

S: Right. OK so, I suppose, compared to a community course this one is maybe a bit more formal?

N: Yeah, bit more formal, yes. And the teacher is more organise the things. Not like community.

S: OK. Em, is there anything about the course that you would change? Anything that you think umm, I need to do more of this, or I would like to do more of that, or this is not important for me?

N: In ESOL classes?

S: Mmm.

N: Mmm, maybe for grammar there is no grammar here more?

S: So you would like more work on grammar?

N: Yes, more grammars. And more topics, more to speak, something like that.

S: OK. What kinds of topic would you like to..?

N: Some topics in the life, or economic like this. Cause today's topic is um classmates speaking for more things, more vocabulary.

S: OK. Today we talked a lot about work and...

N: A lot today

S: ...a lot of vocabulary connected to having a job here and things...

N: Maybe about the job because all of them focus to get a job. Yes.

S: OK. So, is it important then that the ESOL course covers topics that are helpful or useful for your...

N: Life yeah. That is very good. To, to study something and to find something in your life to do that. Yeah, very helpful.

S: OK. Now the, you know, we're a college and so most of our money comes from the Scottish government. That's what allows us to give you these courses. So that means we have to listen to what the government tells us.

N: Yeah.

S: The Scottish government has got a policy, and in that policy they say that ESOL courses should help people to participate actively in Scottish life. OK? Participate actively in Scottish life. So, in your opinion what does that mean? What do you think they mean by that? When they say that they want people like you to participate actively in Scottish life?

N: As we studied before, the, like the charity. I'm interested more about that.

S: Ah! So being, doing community work or...

N: Yeah how to work in charity, and how to apply for that, to be a volunteer. I can make more chance to participate in that, yeah.

S: OK, OK. So participate for you also means to make things better, is that right?

N: Yeah yeah yeah.

S: If you participate in Scottish life you are helping to...

N: Maybe I have a different idea than here.

S: Well that's OK. Your ideas are your ideas, they're important.

N: When I say participate it may be good for us.

S: OK. So it can be good for society but good for you too?

N: Yeah.

S: How is it good for you, if you do charity work?

N: Umm...I can't...because I can, you know, I get more experience.

S: OK, OK.

N: And more ex...skills. And I give to charity.

S: OK. Alright so you develop some skills and get some more experience and so what, that would give you more opportunities?

N: Before I have no idea for charities or something like that. When I study that I get more ideas and I'm not afraid to work.

S: Yeah, well I, I know that. That's good.

N: Yes.

S: OK, I think I've probably finished with all my questions. Is there anything else that you, well maybe anything that you want to ask me? Or anything that you think you would like to say that I didn't ask about?

N:Yyes, I want to ask how I get a job in the same area where I studied, like animal husbandry? Where? I don't know.

S: Hmm. I'm not sure, to be honest. (She laughs). Your area, it's quite specialised so em, I'm not sure how easy is, it is to find that kind of work. Em, obviously it's mostly about farming.

N: Farming or industry.

S: Em there might be some, em farming of course most jobs of course you'd have to go and live in the country, maybe or...

N: Oh! Outside?

S: You'd have to travel outside maybe. Or, the other possibility would be eh yeah maybe working in food production. Yeah there are lots of factories around here that make food or they process food so they take, you know, raw materials and they process it, put it into packets so that they can sell it.

N: Oh OK.

S: Is, is that, would that, is that something that you know about? Like how to, preservatives and things like that?

N: Yeah I know, yeah.

S: So I don't know maybe there's an area there, I don't know, I'm not sure.

N: OK I will search about that.

S: Yeah, well you can do some research, I can do some research, and we'll see what we can find.

N: OK.

S: OK. Anything else?

N: No thank you.

S: Alright thank you very much.

8. Christina

S: OK, so it's the 22nd February. So em, maybe you could just start by telling me a little about where you come from and how long you've been in Scotland.

C: So I am XX, I'm from Italy, Sardinia, and I came in Scotland on October, in the end of October. Yes.

S: OK, OK, and so you've been here for a few months now...?

C: Yes.

S: Did you come here with family or with friends or..?

C: I came here with my Mum, she was here with me one month, and then she leave again to my home in Sardinia.

S: OK.

C: Yes.

S: So can, can I ask, you're alone now..?

C: Yes.

S: So why did you decide to make this big change and leave Sardinia to come here?

C: Because I like to travel number one, and because I want to speak very fluent English in my life.

S: OK, OK. Why is that important?

C: Because is the most important language in the world, in all of the world, and the...because I would like to work in a big company, so I need the English. And if I travel outside of Italy I need to speak English.

S: OK, OK. And so you have a plan to, to, you would like to travel a lot in your life then? You don't want to stay in Italy?

C: No. No I don't want to come back in Italy (laughs).

S: Really?

C: Really.

S: OK so, so this is the start of a new life for you then?

C: Yes.

S: OK, and do you see your new life as, gonna, staying in Scotland or do you think you might go somewhere else in the future?

C: I don't know. The problem is that before to leave, I didn't think about what to do after this college. I know now, I know just I don't want to go back in Italy, again...(laughs)...and maybe I want to do the Masters here, this is the option, or maybe find the one em training in Accounting, but I don't know if my English is good now for working like accounting.

S: OK. So you studied in university before you came?

C: Yes, in Italy.

S: OK. Em, and it, Accounting or Economics is your...

C: My graduate is in the Economic and Financial.

S: OK, OK, but you would like to find a job in that area something to do with finance or accounting...

C: Yes, yes.

S: ...OK, OK. Em, so you said that you didn't really think about that before you came, so you identified a course that you wanted to do, and you got a place on a course here, but after that you didn't really...

C: Yes

S: ...have a plan.

C: Yes.

S: You know, which is quite nice sometimes to just go with no plan and then see what happens...has your plan developed now? Are you starting to see different possibilities?

C: Yes. I start to to take some information about the university here, to do the Master, or to to find one training like accounting, because now my English is better like when I come first time. So maybe in this college in the department of economic, I don't know...

S: OK, OK. Alright so you're looking at different possibilities...

C: Yes

S: ...eh, but you're you're here, you're alone, yeah? Your family's still back in Sardinia?

C: Yes.

S: OK. Was it easy for you to make, cause you needed to make lots of adjustments and changes to your life, when you first arrived here. Did you find that difficult, or was it easy? Has it been easy for you to make the transition?

C: No easy.

S: Not easy?

C: Easy easy. Easy.

S: It WAS easy?

C: Easy yes. I didn't have a too much difficult, too much problems.

S: OK. Em, why was that? Is that just because you're very good at doing things independently or did you get help from anywhere?

C: No no, maybe because I am good I don't know (laughs).

S: That's great, that's fine! OK. So you haven't really had any problems...did you get help from anybody, any people? Did you ask for help from anyone or do you have any people that you can get help from?

C: No, I have one friend that she is friend of my friend, when I came and he work here in Scotland, in Glasgow, and she bring me in the city to see something, the Sauchiehall Street, this is the Subway, the Subway to

work like that. And she's an Italian, she explained me everything in Italian language, so I understand everything immediately. And it's not difficult to live here in Scotland.

S: Why is, is it quite similar to life in Italy?

C: Yes.

S: OK, OK. You didn't have any kind of big culture shock when you first arrived?

C: No. A little bit for the weather. For the weather, yes. I miss too much the sun.

S: Right. Now that you're here then...so you know some Italian people...

C: Yes.

S: Do, do you tend to spend your time with other Italians?

C: No. I prefer to spend my time with other Scotland peop- with Scottish people because I can improve my English. Yes.

S: OK and have you got some Scottish friends now?

C: Yes. I have.

S: And friends from the class too?

C: And from the class, yes.

S: They're not Scottish but you can still practise English...

C: Yes, yes, yes of course.

S: OK. Em, you're, you're not working at the moment, are you?

C: No, I'm not working now.

S: OK. Tell me a little about your kind of everyday life here 'cause you're a part-time student...

C: Yeah this is the problem that I am part-time because I applied for full-time, because I wanted to learn one year the English, and that's all. But now I am like, I try to study alone in the library. But it's not the same to came to the lesson and the listen listen listen.

S: OK.

C: Yes.

S: OK. Do you find though that, obviously speaking to Scottish people, and you've said that your English is getting better...?

C: Si. Yes! (both laugh)

S: But you still have to think in Italian sometimes! Eh, OK. So, at the moment you're still not sure if you're gonna stay in Scotland?

C: No, I'm not sure.

S: But would you say that your experiences up to now have been...

C: No it was great, I don't want to go back! (laughs).

S: OK so positive enough that you don't want to go back to...

C: Yes, really positive.

S: OK, OK well of course that's a good thing. Em and for you, coming to live here was not a big difficult thing then...

C: Yes

S: ...you've managed to sort yourself out. You've got a place to live now? Or...do you have a place to live? Accommodation?

C: Yes, I have the place and yesterday one Scottish girl told me that her brother's about to move, if I want to go to live with her and her family.

S: Oh, OK.

C: Yes.

S: So are you going to do that?

C: Yes.

S: And so you'll be living with a Scottish family?

C: Yes.

S: OK. You seem quite excited about that.

C: (laughs).

S: Yeah? OK. Why do you think that will be a good thing?

C: Because I can improve a lot my English if I live there.

S: OK.

C: I started to speak with Scottish people. It's amazing for me! (laughs)

S: Alright so it's...

C: Just I am not able to find work before...because without work I can't do nothing. Because I have to go back to Italy, I am here from October without work. My Mum pay me everything and the finish (laughs).

S: Right.

C: Yes.

S: So now you're in a position where you need to start work...

C: Yes and also to do something to do during the day. Because now OK I studying, but then?

S: Yeah. After the course finishes...

C: The fin- the course is finishing.

S: Yeah. Yeah that's true then you'll need something else.

C: Yes.

S: OK, em alright. So when you first arrived you said that you made contact with an Italian person and she, she helped you, she could explain how things are in Glasgow in Italian.

C: yes.

S: Em, do you still spend some time with Italian people or do you...?

C: Yes, yes. Some time, not a lot, but some time yes.

S: OK. And when you're thinking about your plans for the future so maybe finding accommodation, finding a job, finding a course at university, do you do that yourself or are you asking people for help? Or if you get help do you normally get help in Italian or in English?

C: I do that myself.

S: Everything yourself?

C: Yes.

S: So how are you doing that? Are you, where..?

C: I went to the university and I asked to the university. One time I went with [Belem] to the university in Glasgow, and [Belem] came with me but I asked not [Belem]. I asked.

S: OK.

C: And I went to Paisley as well and I asked there as well, there too, because it's cheaper, the Masters there.

S: OK. So you're going there and you're doing all the research and you're making appointments and talking to people...?

C: Yes, when I do the application online for the training, I do by myself.

S: OK, OK. That's great. Em, in this class we have got quite a mix of different people...

C: Yes

S: From different countries, different cultures, different religions and different backgrounds. Em, do you think that they've all had a similar experience to you when they came here? Or do you think that it's maybe different for different people?

C: I think more or less is the similar. I think...I don't know! (both laugh) but I think yes.

S: Alright.

C: ...because also they came alone and do everything alone.

S: OK, OK. Do you think that there is, is, I mean you said that for you it's been quite easy, that you've managed to make the adjustments and...

C: Yes, not too much difficult.

S: Right OK. Em, and so I suppose this means that in Scotland we have maybe, I don't know, systems in place or organisations in place for immigrants to get help that they need. Do we have that? Or is it necessary to have that?

C: No I don't have. Today I have to go to the Job Centre but I don't think that they give me because now as a two of my friends went and the Job Centre and...they didn't got.

S: OK. So this is to apply for a jobseeker allowance? Or to get, to get, to see..?

C: To get the benefits.

S: ...if they give you benefits, OK. I think that's getting more difficult now than before.

C: Yes, after the Brexit. Yes.

S: Does Brexit affect your decisions for the future? I mean at the moment you're...

C: The Brexit?

S: ...yeah, you can live here and you can study here but...

C: If I go back in Italy I can't come again here.

S: Ah. So do you think maybe you should..?

C: No, the thing is that I want to move again in Italy or in other place, when I speak fluent English. You know, my target is that. If I don't speak very good English I am not enthusiastic to go back because it's not my resultat. You know?

S: OK, Yeah. So you need to achieve your target, your main goal...

C: Yes.

S: ...which is to improve your English, yeah? OK. Eh, alright so. Em, let's talk a little bit about Scotland and Scottish life, in general. You're, you know, you're from Italy, Scotland's a little bit different – not very different but different – em, have you noticed things about Scotland and Scottish life where you've thought Hmm, this isn't very good or It's better in Italy.

C: (laughs) the weather!

S: OK the weather, we can't really do much about the weather. But is there anything about Scotland where you've you've thought, That should change, or That needs to change. Or must change. Or are you generally just quite happy about everything here?

C: Yeah I am quite happy, yes.

S: OK. And for people who come here from other countries, do you think that the way that Scottish people act towards you is OK? I mean have you had any problems?

C: No. No, no. I didn't have any problem.

S: OK. Do you think that's the same for everybody?

C: I think, yeah. Scottish people are friendly. I went in England last winter and after 2 months I go back in Italy.

S: Yeah?

C: Yes, really different.

S: Uhuh.

C: Yeah Scottish is more friendly. Much more.

S: And is that the big difference then it's about the friendliness of the people?

C: Yes.

S: OK. Do you think that we're friendly in general compared...it's difficult to be general...

C: Yeah in general, yes. As in the street if you ask something to one person, they answer you with a smile for example. In London no. More serious. Too much for me (laughs). Yeah.

S: Do, do you think that this is about how friendly people are to everybody or is it something about how friendly people are to foreigners or people from other countries?

C: No for everybody. Yes.

S: OK, OK. So it's not a kind of racist thing then?

C: It's not..?

S: Like a racist thing?

C: No.

S: It's just general friendliness.

C: Yes.

S: OK, OK. Eh alright. It's it's quite interesting cause you're speaking very positively about Scotland...

C: Yes, I love...

S: ...as if everything is fine here. You know?

C: Yes! The problem is that I don't have the work, this is the problem.

S: OK. OK.

C: The accent was a big problem when I came. But now a little bit it's better. I can understand a little better.

S: You're maybe tuned in a little more.

C: Yes and if I go to live in the Scottish family in 2, 3 months my English...

S: That will be very helpful.

C: Yes.

S: OK. Good. Right so, your main reason to come here was to study English, that's your main focus really.

C: Yes.

S: ...so I suppose that means that the ESOL course that you're doing here is very important for you. It's a big part of your life here?

C: Yes.

S: Eh did the course meet your expectations? You know before you came I suppose you had some idea about what an ESOL course would be like here. Is this course what you expected or is it a bit different?

C: I thought maybe a little bit more grammar.

S: OK.

C: Yes. I thought.

S: So you feel that we're maybe...

C: But in English there isn't too much grammar like in Italian. Maybe it's for this reason.

S: Uhuh.

C: In Italy there are more, in Italian language there is more grammar.

S: Yeah, well very structured grammar isn't it, you've got rules that you can follow...

C: Yes

S: In English the rules are not so easy to follow. Yeah so that probably is part of the reason. Em, do you feel that this course is giving you what you need?

C: Yes but I think my English is not sufficient now. I need to improve more but I don't know how because the studying I do, everything, I don't know how.

S: Hmm, OK. It's a process, it's a long process sometimes.

C: It will take time because it's normal.

S: Yeah, learning a language, you know, some people do it fast, some people do it slowly. Some people do it fast to start, and then slow down a little, and then start again, start making more progress again later.

C: Yes.

S: Maybe you're at that point at the moment. You know? Eh OK. Just thinking about doing, when you study an ESOL course in a college, it's maybe a little bit different from if you study in a private school for example.

C: OK.

S: One reason for this is that we get in, colleges get most of their money from the government, yeah? And the government has got a policy about learning ESOL, we have a kind of ESOL strategy. And one of the objectives of this government policy is that ESOL should help people to become, well, to help people to participate actively in Scottish life. That's what the government tells us that we should try to do with our ESOL courses. Help people to participate actively in Scottish life.

C: Mmm.

S: OK? What do you understand by that? Participate actively in Scottish life. What does that mean in your opinion?

C: For example work. Or going for example in manifestation, when we went to manifestation, to the manifestation.

S: To the demonstration?

C: Demonstration.

S: OK.

C: Is to be part of life, Scottish life.

S: OK. OK.

C: Yes. Or mmm everything to do volunteer, to be volunteer. Everything.

S: OK so, that, that's lots of different things then, yeah? Working is like being part of the economy, eh but...

C: Shopping, to do shopping...

S: Spending money I suppose?

C: Spending money yes.

S: But also you talked about maybe going to demonstrations or doing voluntary work which is more about community...helping the community or something, yeah?

C: Yes, yes it's to be part of the the population, the country.

S: Mmm, OK. Which of these things is, do you think is more important?

C: Maybe work.

S: Is that important because it's important for you, the immigrants..?

C: No, for, eh to move the economic.

S: Ah, OK.

C: I think.

S: OK. So when the government is, the Scottish government is asking for us to help people like you to participate actively in Scottish life, do you think they really mean help you to get a job so that you can make a contribution to the economy? Is that what you think..?

C: Also.

S: OK

C: Also yes.

S: But not only?

C: No, not only.

S: OK. Do you think the other part the society thing, you know, cause there's the economy and then there's the community, yeah?

C: Yes.

S: Do you think that the community development part of this, is that also important for the government, do you think?

C: Yes of course.

S: Oh OK.

C: Yes.

S: Why do you think that's important?

C: Because everything go for the economic. For example the volunteer is economic, because they work without pay, but they are working and they contribution for the economic.

S: OK, but nobody has to pay them anything?

C: Yes.

S: Uhuh! OK.

C: Or to go in a one demonstration, they are doing something for the economic for the, the population...

S: OK, OK so...right so, maybe for the government then, from a political perspective...

C: Yes.

S: ...the society thing is also thing is also connected to the economic thing, is that what you're saying?

C: Yes, yes yes, of course.

S: Uhuh, OK. That's quite interesting. So the government is not only interested in you, or immigrants, finding a job and paying tax..?

C: Yes. Not only that.

S: Not only.

C: No.

S: Well that's interesting. Well you've studied economics so you probably know better than me.

C: Ah no! (laughs).

S: OK. well, thinking about that then, do you think that the things that you study on your ESOL course are helping you?

C: Yes, I feel me.

S: Yeah?

C: Yes.

S: Helping you to do this thing and become part of Scottish society?

C: Yes of course.

S: Can you give some examples?

C: For example when I went to the charity shop. I studied it here. I didn't know, nobody tell me noth...anything, I went and I asked this is one charity shop where the people volunteer? And they told me yes. Can I work here? Yes. And I started to do my contribution at, to the economic Scottish..Scottish economic.

S: OK so basically we had some lessons in the class...

C: Yes

S: ...about volunteering and charity...

C: Yes.

S: ...and you went, almost immediately you went and tried to get yourself a voluntary job yeah?

C: Yes. Yes!

S: Are you still doing that?

C: No. No, no no. Because I went to do other English course in the afternoon, and I didn't have time.

S: I see. OK.

C: But the English course was not good, and we didn't go with [Ugur and Jeet], yeah.

S: So you stopped going after some time?

C: Yeah stopped.

S: So are you thinking now about maybe doing voluntary work again or are you..?

C: No no no now I have to find a job.

S: You need paid work now, yeah?

C: Yes.

S: OK. Right em, I think I have asked you all the questions I want to ask you...

C: OK.

S: Is there anything that you, anything extra that you would like to say? Maybe something that I didn't ask but you think I should have asked?

C: No. No it's OK.

S: Alright, Great well thank you very much for your time.

C: You're welcome.

S: Thanks a lot.

9. Phailin

S: OK so it's the 24th February. Maybe we could start, eh, with you telling me a little bit about how you came to be in Scotland in the first place.

P: Oh in the first place is, I just followed my husband whatever, cause my husband is come from Scotland...

S: Mmhm, you've got a Scottish husband?

P: Yeah a Scottish husband and also I have 3 kids with him. Because, but my husband work in Middle East, in Saudi, so we have to be there for the kids, all the children born there...

S: Right

P: And then that's why I have to be there. Though I didn't learn any English. Just speaking with him only.

S: When you were in Saudi?

P: Yeah.

S: Did you meet in Saudi?

P: No. He go holiday, I worked with my Auntie in a tourist place in Thailand, so he go holiday, so we meet there.

S: OK, so how long, how long did you live together in Saudi?

P: Oof, twenty...

S: A long long time?

P: Yeah, 25 years?

S: And your kids grew up there?

P: Yeah. They born there and grew up there, but they are British.

S: But their Dad's Scottish, their Mum's Thai, they grew up in Saudi Arabia...

P: Yeah but my kids British and they have like an international school there.

S: OK. So they've had an international education.

P: Yeah, they go there for learning. Until the, what you call, high school year 11. So they leave there to come here to start high school here for 2 years, boarding school for 2 years each. And then they go to university, Glasgow University.

S: Right, so they've done their sort of their final 2 years of school in Scotland. It's the Lomond School they go to right?

P: Yeah Lomond School, boarding school. And then my younger one, she come here to stay at normal school. That's why I have to come here with her with her...

S: ...because it's not a boarding school, right.

P: She's a girl. So...(laughs)...

S: Your two older ones are sons then?

P: Yeah.

S: Right.

P: So they've finished now.

S: So when did you come back to, well, not back but when did you come to live in Scotland permanently then?

P: I didn't come back to living yet.

S: You're still a kind of temporary resident?

P: I have like we have like ten year visa. Have to be in and out.

S: So you can only be here for a certain number of weeks or something?

P: Yeah I don't know how it works but eh, I'm an owner the house, like joint names what do you call that?

S: Yeah joint ownership. And eh, that's why we have to be here.

S: Right. So do you see yourself as, cause you're home for a very long time was Saudi Arabia.

P: Yes.

S: Your original home was Thailand, but you've always had some kind of connection with Scotland because your husband's Scottish...?

P: Yeah yeah, we come here every years anyway, like a holiday place or...of course my husband's family were here, are here, so...

S: But, but you're, I suppose you're spending more time here now.

P: Yeah.

S: Now your daughter's in school here and you're doing a course here...

P: Yeah for couple of years now.

S: And your long-term plan is to base yourselves here, is that right?

P: Yes. Yes. Because my husband he want to retire, early retire? And come here next years. To stay, and maybe have a wee business for something to do.

S: OK but he's going to retire from his job in Saudi and move back?

P: Yeah, early retire.

S: Right. And how do you feel about Scotland? You've never, I mean you've been coming in and out of here for a long time but you've never really been based here permanently...

P: Um...

S: Do you feel that this is your home? Yet?

P: Yeah. Yes, because I got a house and my house quite nice area in the middle of a good location, I love it. And also my family quite good to me.

S: Mmm.

P: My husband families.

S: Right so you've got your parents-in-law...

P: Yeah they're all around me, I can say any time I need help they just jump on...

S: Right, so you've got good family support network from your, your husband's family?

P: Yes. And also they, the Scottish people very nice, and cause we stay the, what do you call it? The tourist area?

S: Yeah, near Loch Lomond, isn't it?

P: Yeah, nothing getting bored there you can do whatever.

S: OK, so you know if I asked you "Where is your home"? What would you says?

P: Oh eh Saudi! (laughs)

S: You'd still say Saudi yeah?

P: Yeah because we stay there too long, you know? Even the kids. But yeah, still.

S: OK.

P: It's OK. I miss Saudi...

S: Yeah, well that's fine...you know...

P: [getting upset] Anyway.

S: Do you want to take a minute?

P: Yeah yeah no it's OK. So...you enjoyed teach us? You teaching in the class.

S: Yeah! well it's very interesting for me because I'm finding out, em...

P: ...Because I see, so many different nationality, you know...

S: Yeah.

P: Hard to control them, isn't it! (laughs)

S: Sometimes.

P: But you teach very good, comical very...

S: Well it makes it interesting. We'll, we'll talk about the classes in a minute. Em if you don't mind I'd like to talk just a little about the idea of em, you kind of becoming part...it's kind of a new thing for you, moving to Scotland on a permanent basis, you know. And...

P: It's hard for me.

S: It is, yeah. It must be hard especially because your husband's not here at the moment, em, so you're kind of having to do things by yourself. Are you, the support that you get from your family though, is that helping you?

P: Yes, a lot. They always good helping and also the government, I mean the, you know the medical, everything. They help...

S: The Health Service and stuff?

P: Yes. They very good. Like better than anywhere in the world, you know what I mean? In Saudi I know the company gave, I know the company paid but if didn't have insurance card everything was quite expensive. And here they very good take care about medic...what you call medic?

S: Medicine. Or health care, I suppose.

P: Yeah health care yeah. Mhm. I'm quite happy with that for my children, to come here to live, you know what I mean?

S: Right. I suppose that must be a big priority if you're thinking about your children's future yeah?

P: Yeah. That's all.

S: Do they see themselves as being Scottish, or British, or do they still have a connection with Saudi because they grew up there.

P: They grew up there. Well, because she also have problem with friends, keep asking her you know what I mean? Say where you come from?

S: Maybe it's a difficult question to answer...

P: I know and...

S: ...because they're international...

P: ...she doesn't look like Scottish ..."but you didn't look Asian"... "I'm, I'm British I'm Scottish" -"And where are you from?" -"I'm from Saudi" like that you know "I'm born in Saudi", you know? My Mum Thai, my Dad Scottish, and then, you know...?

S: It's a bit of a long story...

P: Oh, she say och, every day, on and on, every day, new teacher, and keep ask me. It's OK, she getting used to it you know? And for me...

S: Difficult to get used to?

P: Yeah because, no friends, I don't know...

S: OK. Well, I mean, in general, let's speak more generally, do you think that Scotland is an easy place to come to as an immigrant? To, to come from another country and settle here? Is it easy or is it difficult?

P: Ah it depends, depend what you want to be here for, you know, like some people want to be just like, what you call, like a refugee?

S: Mhmm

P: And some people want to use thing free but we not like that. For me, cause my family here that's why I want to come here. To support my kids.

S: Yeah. Yeah.

P: Because I learn...

S: But do you, do you think for others it's more difficult? Or easier? Or...just different?

P: I think it's different. Or difficult for them. For me easier because my husband is Scottish. Mmhmm.

S: OK, OK.

P: He's, can make any visa or whatever, you know.

S: OK, so maybe you're in a stronger position from that point of view?

P: Yes.

S: You already have a kind of connection with Scotland through your husband and your husband's family.

P: Even, even if before I want to come and stay with my kids here, but I feel sorry to my husband, to leave him there alone you know what I mean? That's why I wait for my kids to grow up first. If I came here a long time ago I been Scottish person already (laughs).

S: Yeah.

P: And I don't have to pay any study or anything.

S: That's true, yeah.

P: And also my kids, I think my daughter maybe have to pay for university, £18000?

S: International fees.

P: Yeah, something like that.

S: Ok so that makes it difficult...

P: No we try to because my daughter coming 18, and my husband says she's British, how come all the refugee people can, you know can come here free and my daughter is British but she cannot...probably...well we try now, try to...

S: It's true actually, it's em in some ways of course it's difficult for refugees, because they've had such a difficult time before they came here. But then from your point of view you haven't had all of those problems before, but somehow it can be, sometimes it's in some ways it's more difficult cause you've got to pay more money...

P: And my daughter already here for two years, and also she's British...

S: She's a British citizen yeah?

P: Yes. You know what I mean and she's got the Young Scottish, what do you call it – international student card?

S: ...student identity card yeah?

P: Yeah, everything's she's local here, you know? And why do we have to pay that expensive..?

S: I think it's to do with how much time you lived outside....

P: ...yeah live outside...

S: ...because...

P: ...I think she'll be OK because Glasgow University accept her already.

S: Oh OK.

P: Yeah but she have to have an A, B, and A or B...she can do that easy.

S: OK, yeah.

P: Not my son, not my middle one, no.

S: (laughs)

P: But my daughter she shows she can do it.

S: Good. OK.

P: Yeah.

S: So, if we think about em, sort of immigrants coming into this country then, people from lots of different countries, you know, you said it depends on the situation, it's maybe easier for some people, more difficult for others. You've got that kind of support network from your husband's family.

P: Yes.

S: What about em getting support from other places like, you've mentioned that without friends it can be difficult...is, do, have you, have you kind of tried to make your network of support bigger? Or is that an easy thing to do or is it a difficult thing to do?

P: Um, difficult because here everybody work, everybody have their own job, their own, business, like that and nobody care each other. But different with, when we stay in Saudi or Thailand, in Saudi we stay with a group in a, like a big compound, the woman not allowed to work. Just sit round and have something to eat like, normal.

S: But you have some friends already on the compound..?

P: Yes a lot and, like a family.

S: Yeah.

P: And in Thailand even you never be...talk together like a family, neighbours...but here neighbours they just stay their own houses, I stay in my own house like that, yeah. Having stayed in like, whole weeks, never see anybody like that, you know? And like, family is OK they're working I don't like to go talk to them or go visit them all the time but...Father and mother is OK they very good support.

S: What about other Thai people?

P: Other Thai people they are have, like own shop and business themselves, quite busy.

S: OK so you don't really have other Thai friends, or other people you could speak Thai with?

P: I, I have but they stay quite far away from here, and I don't know where to go, how to go there (laughs).

S: OK, OK. Do you feel that, if you're going to be living in Scotland for a long time in the future, are you going to have to make some changes to yourself or, you know, to try to fit into society? Do you think that's necessary, you know, that you have to change yourself?

P: Yes. I have to change myself a lot.

S: Can you give me an example?

P: Like, I have to have something to do, otherwise you know, homesick or, you know...

S: Yeah, you don't want to get bored or depressed.

P: Bored yeah...

S: You know you could even get depressed if you don't have something to do.

P: Yeah and then...I know I talk to my family every day I can but, my brother, everybody working every day as well over there and I can't just phone them all the time.

S: Yeah, yeah.

P: And then, I appreciate, I love it here too. I like the weather.

S: You like the weather?

P: Yeah especially snow.

S: Really yeah?

P: Yes.

S: Alright. You're on your own there...(both laugh)...but OK...so, so there's maybe some kind of need for you to, I don't know make more of an effort or try to kind of allow yourself to be happy here is that right?

P: I think if my husband here with me it...

S: It would be easier yeah? Well, that's normal.

P: Because yeah because he's..I know he'll spoil me, he'll do everything for me and then I don't know how to do a thing myself. As soon as I come. Bang! Alone. You know?

S: That's been a difficult experience, eh?

P: Yeah. It's hard. Cause I thought I can drive my car, and we bought the car, and then we got the, what you call it, what you call the, driving licence?

S: Driving licence.

P: But I got the international one, but I can use here for one years only...

S: Oh, and then you have to get a British one?

P: Yeah, and then, but I cannot go and get the British one because I'm not resident or, what do you call that...

S: Oh, you don't have a long-term residence?

P: Yeah and then, cannot do anything?

S: Yeah OK so there's quite a few limits and restrictions that are put on you. OK. Is there, thinking about that then is there anything that could make things easier for you, or for people in general coming into this country? Could Scotland change in some way? Is it...well yeah.

P: Scotland no need to change, Scotland no need to change, Scottish people don't need to change anything. But there are people who are come here need to change themselves.

S: So it's the people, it's the immigrants' responsibility to change?

P: Yes.

S: OK. So is that because you think Scottish people are doing enough or that Scottish society does enough to welcome...?

P: Yes they do they welcome. I never ever see anybody bad to me in the like, bad talk or make a dirty face or whatever.

S: Mmm.

P: I always see nice people.

S: OK. Alright so you're quite positive about Scottish society is here.

P: Yeah but the food is, you have to cook as well (both laugh).

S: You're a Thai chef of course you think that.

P: No but the food quite boring and I don't like...

S: Yeah. Thinking about that, because the food is maybe a good example, do you think that when immigrants come into Scotland – alright you're saying that maybe they have a responsibility to change themselves so they can become part of Scottish society...

P: Yes.

S: ...but do you also think – maybe – that immigrants do something to make Scotland a better place, to improve Scottish society?

P: Yeah. We should look, you know compare how different that person come in, what they come here for, know what I mean?

S: Mmhmm.

P: Like, example like me. I'm the British husband and British family already but I'm not allowed things like that, you know what I mean? Like hard for me to, what you call, to do things myself?

S: To be independent?

P: Yeah. And also I have to wait, how long, 2 years, 3 years, to be British like my husband and my kids – you know what I mean?

S: So maybe the, should the law change?

P: Yeah, yes.

S: Should it be easier?

P: Yes, should change how long you marry, know what I mean? Like I married for what, 26, 27 years. They should accept that, you know?

S: Long time.

P: But no, they didn't accept it. I still have to start again.

S: Yeah.

P: When we come here to live.

S: OK so maybe it's not so much about people, about society, it's more about the law – maybe that should change?

P: Yeah yeah, the law should change, not the.... It's, I agree the not go to London, have a passport immediately, but you have to look what's the real words as well you know. Like some people married for long time, they have to separate. It's the same with like we go to, what you call, passport control? I have to go the other sides my husband and my kids go the other sides. And some they say, it's OK that your wife go with you, and sometimes they say No, she have to go there. Well, which one, you know?

S: So, right, uhuh so sometimes people don't follow the rules.

P: Yeah.

S: Like you're supposed to go there but...

P: Yeah!

S: ...today you can go there.

P: ..and the people who tell me to do it is Indian. Immigration (laughs) British Indian in London, I talk about in London, quite a lot of Indian people you know.

S: Yeah.

P: I say You're not British either why...? I know they are...

S: Or maybe they are, but...

P: I know they are...

S: But you feel you've got as much right...

P: Yes uhuh, so, why are you telling me what to do like that you know? You not British but you tell me what to do you know? (laughing). And then, something like that.

S: OK.

P: I think the law should be look about, look back about how long you marry, how many kids you have together, like that you know?

S: Uhuh. Just to see how serious this marriage is?

P: Yeah so married just one year, two years OK, you not allowed, you know but...

S: OK I get what you're saying.

P: And and I look, I have a property, I have property myself like that you know what I mean? I already have everything, bang – money, house, everything. I don't want you to support me, know what I mean? You have to look like that – OK, you allowed to get in because...not, but it's OK for people have nothing and come and take from you only. You know what I mean?

S: I do know what you mean yeah. Do you think then that there's anything that you can do to change that? Should you be demonstrating in the streets, writing to your MP, campaigning? Is that your job? Or could it be? Is that something you could do?

P: Em I don't know why I just compare myself like a lot of friends in the class yeah? Some people husband go to free school here yeah, free study here, and wife, and then also the kids, their kids, as well they have so

many kids, they can go free school things like that. But my family, my husband is British, my kids British. Why is, we have to pay a lot like that, you know what I mean?

S: Mmhmm.

P: We got property here but they didn't. They got a free house, free everything.

S: Mhm. But I suppose in the eyes of the law, eh, you're not British. You know, that's how the law sees you, they see you as being in a different situation.

P: I know that's why I said can they change the law? Look where she come, how she come here, know what I mean? Why she come here?

S: Yeah.

P: I don't want anything from you guys! (both laugh)

S: Yeah I know, absolutely.

P: It depend even even days I come here, yeah, I want to open a cooking class, cooking school...

S: Uhuh?

P: ...so I can train a lot the Scottish kids...

S: Train them how to cook...

P: Yeah how to cook, to be chef, mmhmm, check quite a lot of money, a month...

S: ...Is that a little business idea that you have then?

P: Yeah.

S: Not just a restaurant but an actual school?

P: Not just a restaurant no. The restaurant I can teach one or two or couple of them, they can run my restaurant already you know? And I want to open a school. Like a cooking class.

S: To train people.

P: Yeah. To train a lot the young people to have a job, got a chef it be easier to get a job, know what I mean?

S: Yeah, absolutely.

P: Yeah not just come here and take take. Everywhere I go I like to give...

S: Give something back.

P: Yeah! Give something back to where you go, you know? You come here, you give something back to the here, to the, you know. You come to Scotland you give something back to Scotland people.

S: Mmm.

P: And you go to Thailand, of course I do everything for my family, for the people around me. But...

S: Thinking about that, you know you decided last year to come and study English in the college. What were your reasons then for wanting to study English because you could speak English a bit before, you know, but...

P: Oh I can speak English only but I can't read and write, that's the main thing. Because my husband, of course my husband working all time, he didn't have time to teach me, or whatever.

S: Yeah. So why did you think it was important to to learn how to read and write because you know, maybe you could...

P: Like I say I plan to teach Scottish people how to cook Thai food or whatever, yeah...

S: OK, so you had a business idea in mind...

P: Yeah so I can try and find myself, so make this make that, you know? Do this do that and...like a Thai herbs, translate Thai herbs to English names, whatever.

S: I see. OK, so, you had an idea of why you wanted to learn English before the course started. Since you came to the college has your ESOL course given you what you were expecting? Is it what you expected from a, from an English course or is it a bit different?

P: Well it's different, little bit hard (laughs)

S: A bit harder?

P: Yeah for me, but it's good. I learn a lot. I have a lot experience.

S: Is the course giving you what you want then or is there anything that you think Oh, I'm not doing enough of this, or I want more of this?

P: I think I not do enough.

S: Enough what?

P: Enough of...

S: Of everything? (both laugh)

P: Of everything, because no I'm not blaming you, blaming the teacher, I'm blaming myself. I not work hard, not work enough you know what I mean? Not put in work enough. I know, cause nobody push me you see. Like kids, know what I mean?

S: You need to be pushed? You need to be forced to do stuff...

P: If my husband was here he will "Wait where's your homework?" You know. "Do your homework" and I just relaxing, and nobody push me.

S: Yeah. Mmm.

P: Like I home alone.

S: Yeah right so yeah. OK. I suppose, I mean you're on a part-time course now. I suppose there is the possibility for you to study full-time in the future, but I don't know if you...?

P: I would like to go the next level if I pass this level, you know what I mean? For just more to improve my English, and the thing like that.

S: OK. Something about our ESOL courses here, we were talking about the laws, and the government and things before...

P: Yeah.

S: The Scottish government, well colleges, we receive most of our funding comes from the government, yeah? They provide most of the money...

P: That's why I said the law.

S: Yeah.

P: I thought the law because I know you guys work for the government as well.

S: Yeah, we, we don't really control it or anything. But the, the, as far as ESOL courses go, the government's got a kind of policy, strategy for ESOL, and one thing that they say about college ESOL courses is that they, the government wants our courses, college courses, to help people to participate actively in Scottish life.

P: Of course yeah.

S: Yeah? What does that mean to you? How do you understand that phrase "Participate actively in Scottish life"?

P: I know you guys like, got to help people to know how to live normal life or help themselves, fit themselves put it that way.

S: OK.

P: Get the job, to help themselves and their family.

S: OK, so it's about how to live a, live a sort of full life or a successful life here?

P: Yes.

S: OK. So is it mostly about helping people to get a job?

P: Yes. Mostly.

S: Is there anything else that's important?

P: Em, help people to understand more. You know, understand Scottish people more. And eh, understand culture, understand how to live here.

S: Mhm.

P: How to live another country, maybe.

S: OK so it's not just about finding work it's about how society works and stuff like that?

P: And eh like routine life or whatever. In your life you know what I mean?

S: Right.

P: For me it's easy because whole family support me when I, you know, speak wrong or do something wrong they jump on "No! Not that, wrong way, you cannot say like that, that's wrong way" like that you know?

S: OK.

P: Yeah? OK...

S: So, so that idea that you have about participating actively in Scottish life, it's about finding a job, it's about having a successful life, it's about being part of knowing how things work.

P: And normal, yeah. The normal Scottish people. Not scared to go out because I cannot speak English or I don't understand them, you know.

S: Right so developing confidence as well?

P: Yeah.

S: Is that an important part, do you think?

P: Yes

S: OK. Do you think that your ESOL course here is helping you to do these things?

P: Of course, yes. Yes it is. Yes for everybody not only me. Mmhmm.

S: OK. Can you, you seem very sure about that. How can you be so sure? Or can you give me some examples?

P: Em, example is my son. Cause I'm not here no adults nobody push him. He go to university for two years, my middle one, my middle boy. And he failed. How come he failed? Because she's not push him so he just got drink and friends, money we sending...you know. So he do nothing. He could not get a job because he not, he didn't have that what you call, certificate or whatever, to show. And then I push him to college. First he go to what you call, eh what that college name? Em...

S: What in Glasgow or..?

P: No no, same like us.

S: Oh, in XX [another campus of the college]?

P: XX, last year and this year I push him here, to this college. Like a what you call, engineer.

S: OK, and so he's doing a college course now.

P: Yes. And apply a job. And he get a job.

S: OK. So it's helping him.

P: That's it is a, like example. One family, you help a lot there...it's help my kids.

S: What about, what about you? Is it, how is it helping you?

P: How is it helping me is so I understand more English. More English of course. And then I can understand you guys speaking to me or understand everybody speaking, talking.

S: OK. So, alright so your own English gets better, your ability to use English and to understand English...

P: Yeah I can live a normal life, I can go anywhere I want. People understand, I understood whatever they say.

S: OK, and is that is that enough then, that your English course is giving you a better level of English, or, I mean, is there anything more that we could be doing? Like for example today, or this week we've been looking at jobs and working and working conditions, so the topics are to kind of help people in their, I don't know if that's...what do you think?

P: For the work it's depend what they want to work. You know what I mean they have to go find out. They still have to learn whatever you go to work you need like, still have to train. Like you want to work for hairdresser you still have to train for hairdresser even you know how to do it. Know what I mean, same like me, I know cook, but I don't know how to cook foreign, or foreign or Scottish food.

S: Yeah.

P: I cook Thai food only, know what I mean? Well I know some, how to make steak pie of course, fish and chips, things like that...

S: I'm sure you're very good at it too.

P: Yeah and in...we still have to what you call, em, train wherever they could get a job. Even they finish from here, finish from you, go work the other company they still have to train what they got to do there so...

S: True.

P: It's maybe from what you call, from you, to them, so they can use whatever you teach them to use wherever they go. Like next step.

S: So they still have to, they might learn things in the class but they then have to go and use them and apply it.

P: Yes, everything from you teach in the class, to go do whatever they want to...you know what I mean like...

S: Yeah.

P: ...use step by step anyway you know? I used English from my husband to talk to you guys, to come here to college. And then use English from you guys to speak other.

S: Uhuh.

P: I know, ah, sometime when you talking, I don't know how to explain...

S: I think I know what you mean though. You're kind of taking stuff but then you have to, you have to internalise it, you have to put it inside your head first and then process it before you can use it...

P: Like...my husband teach me English, yeah? And still not enough. I still get from you, and you teach me. And then I use whatever version you're teaching me to go the next step. I didn't stay with you forever, yeah.

S: Of course not.

P: When we go to work or whatever I have to use that words that you teach me.

S: Right, it's true. So again there's a kind of responsibility really for you to then do something with it...

P: Yes, uhuh. Like you are the boat, the sailing, sailing boat. Take us to other, you know, cross the river. Yeah you dump us the other one, then we leave you guys back...

S: Right, OK. So, OK so I take you across the "language river"...

P: Over the river, mmhmm...

S: And I, I leave you at another place and then it's up to you.

P: Yeah it's up to them to do...but we still think about you guys. Oh, my teacher teach me this, that we use that words, that thing you know. You know what I mean?

S: Yeah, yeah I do. I like that.

P: Like, I went to college for cooking as well. Like I have to have certificate or everything before I open restaurant over in Saudi. And then sometime I think back I think "Oh my teacher teach me that, and oh, I forgot!" You know? Still have to think back...

S: Sure...

P: Whatever you learn from, you know?

S: Yeah. yeah.

P: Quite hard to explain.

S: No I think I get that, yeah. OK, I don't really have any more questions, so I don't know if you want to ask me anything or tell me anything, if there's anything that I didn't say and you think I forgot or something?

P: Hmm you guys good teacher and very polite and very calm, you know what I mean?

S: Mmm.

P: For me I would get angry very easy and get upset very easy. So many kids...I mean (laughs) kids! So many people different country. And hard to put them together.

S: To keep everybody together?

P: I know

S: Do you think that makes the job more difficult the when people come from different cultures then?

P: It is, It is! Specially you guys...

S: Though sometimes it's more interesting you know, people coming from so many...

P: Oh it's good experience for you, just sometime it's hard to control them. Especially last year...

S: Well some students can get quite em, you know, well people can be upset by things. You know?

P: I know but ...

S: I mean everybody has a life and so...

P: They have to accept that you are with other people, know what I mean? That's what I do, I accept that I'm with them. But I expect they are the same with me.

S: Well yeah, because you are all individuals. You've got one thing in common, which is your level of English. But everything else is quite different.

P: Yes.

S: I suppose one other thing in common is that you're all kind of immigrants coming to live in this country. But there are still lots and lots of big differences...

P: Yeah that's what I say to one guy or woman, I'm not sure. I said the one that finished last year, the woman she said "I'm the first woman in my country". Yeah that's your country but here, we are the same class, same level, so you, don't you put everybody down, you know? Don't look people down, we all the same.

S: Yeah. And I suppose that's true it becomes, everybody bec- maybe in your past you were in a very different situation but when you get here...

P: Doesn't matter where you are, who you are, up or, high sort or low sort, whatever, when you're here you're the same. Same teacher.

S: Yeah. Same homework.

P: Yeah! Same homework same teacher that's the main thing.

S: Same assessments as well.

P: Yeah, that's why I say to them is don't look people down yeah.

S: Yeah, that's a good point. OK right I think we should leave it there. Thank you very much.

10. Hamid

S: Right so, this is the 1st March. Em, maybe we could start...if you could just tell me a little about your, how long you have been in Scotland and the reasons why you came here?

H: Good afternoon, my name is XX, I'm, I came to Scotland in 2003, eh, I live here about almost 13 years. And I still have no right to, know, remain?

S: Leave to remain.

H: Leave to remain in Scotland. I, I don't know why actually. And also I'm happy to living here but sometime I'm very stressed because of the situation.

S: Mhm. So you came here as an asylum seeker, right?

H: Yes. I apply for asylum seeker in 2003 in Croydon.

S: OK, so you were living in Lon- in England first.

H: Yeah first.

S: How many years did you stay in England?

H: About five, four months.

S: OK, not too long...

H: I came to Scotland after that and I had my first refuse straight away I applied, and also I had my second refuse in 2 months, after 2 months, and I don't what the reason is. And I visit my lawyer again also. Her name I think was XX. Last time she told me "Sorry I can't do anything for you, I can't do nothing. At the moment your case is closed.

S: OK.

H: So, that time I decided to search for something else. So I found one of my friend in north of Scotland, in Inverness. I moved to Inverness 2003 November. I came to UK, I came to UK 2003 June, I think 19 June, and I moved to Inverness November.

S: OK. And eh, by that time when you moved, already your asylum application had, was unsuccessful right?

H: Unsuccessful yeah.

S: OK. And since then?

H: Since then I keep trying always I keep trying to find a good lawyer and I keep trying to find a solution for my problems. But I always unlucky. I always get refused for I don't know what reason, I still don't know what's the reason is. I would one day to find like a proper reason they make me to believe.

S: Mhm.

H: Because I know thousand thousand peoples they came after me and they came with me and they came, even still people coming, they get indefinite to...

S: Indefinite leave...

H: Indefinite leave yeah. And even I have never, I had never problem in UK, not a crime not a stealing anything, not a fight with people. I never been to police station even one hours.

S: Hm. Yeah.

H: So but I still don't know what's the reason.

S: So nobody has explained that to you?

H: They sent a letter, "We don't, we don't believe you from Iran" or they send a letter "We don't believe you still from Iran", and I remember I spoke to one of Immigration, the immigration. I spoke to him I said "What's the reason? Every time I have interview and I have a report always, and I have done nothing wrong. What's the reason as you, you keep me like that?" I remember he told me, "If we are sure where you come from, we will send you home straight away." That's he said to me and I said straightaway "I don't care, send me home".

S: Hm.

H: But I don't know why, why you send me home straight away. What am I done?

S: Yeah, it seems a bit strange.

H: Yeah, it's really really, I have a really really hard life in Scotland but I still survive. God help me for everything. I have never get support from UK government. They show me the proof. They have no proof to support me one penny. OK I appreciate for hospitals I appreciate for people, I am not appreciate for government. I appreciate for, for colleges, for schools for everything. But they never support me like a proper support from government. They tell me I am illegal to get £30 a week or £35 a week, to get accommodation. I don't know why.

S: So you don't receive any government money?

H: Never. Never. This is...

S: That doesn't help, doesn't make your life easier does it if you can't get...

H: Not at all.

S: ...anything. You're here with your family, is that right?

H: No.

S: You're here...

H: Alone.

S: OK.

H: But after that, after whole years...too many times I visit my lawyer, they said, "Why you not married and why you don't have children?" And couple of times immigration asked me in Home Office, "If you live here why you don't have children? Why you don't have girlfriend? And I said "Look, this is a personal things, why should I have a girlfriend?" This is a religion, this is not...I'm the different, maybe some people want to, even

he's a Muslim, even he came from Muslim country, even he live here but he's still born Muslim, it's two different opinion, two different mentality yeah?

S: Mhm, mhm...

H: It's not my lifestyle to go to pick the girl or pick the lady without married. Everybody's different. Every time they ask me this kind of question I always answered "It's not by me it's by God".

S: Mmm.

H: I can't do this kind of things without married.

S: Sure.

H: So...they have not very, they have not very important point. If you want I can bring my whole refuse, what they said.

S: Oh! No, it's not for me it's, eh, eh, but...

H: Yeah but you ask me information about my life, about reality.

S: Sure. Sure.

H: Yeah I would like to say the real sometime. Even sometime even I am stressed. I contact with the lawyer three days ago. Before weekend, I'm sure it was before weekend. I contact to the new lawyer in England. I said "I have to do, I have been here for 13 years, it's my situation and I'm married now. I have my certificate and I have everything." He said "We can't do nothing about that at the moment because not new law for the people who came before last ten, fifteen years."

S: Oh right, OK. So they've got systems for new asylum seekers...

H: New people yeah, but they don't have new system for old people.

S: I see. OK, OK.

H: I don't know.

S: OK, let let's talk a little just about your kind of general life here...

H: No problem.

S: So, so now you are married right, and you've got some kids?

H: Eh, one dead last year...

S: Aw! I'm sorry about that.

H: Yeah, it's OK. It's by God it's not, can't do nothing. And one on its way. I told you, will born about 10 April.

S: Yeah, yeah. OK.

H: Baby due 9 April.

S: OK. Well good luck I hope everything goes well this time.

H: Yeah.

S: Your wife is still OK at the moment?

H: Yeah, she's well, thank you.

S: OK that's good to know.

H: Tired, you know it's can...you have kids, you know...

S: I know, yeah, I know. If the baby's coming in a month yeah, she will be tired, uncomfortable...

H: 8 months today.

S: Yeah, OK.

H: So one month 9 days left.

S: OK, it's an exciting time though.

H: Yes, very.

S: Good, OK. So you, you're kind of starting a bit of a family life now...

H: Yeah but I'd like - sorry to interrupt - but it was important to tell you that, look, next month I have a baby, I need things. I have no support from from government. Only she has support.

S: Right.

H: When she has support she has only £60 a week. I don't want to say I cannot find work - yes I can find work. But when I come to you to say "Oh, Steve" - imagine you have a shop or something "Steve can I work for you?" Straightaway you ask me for national insurance number.

S: Yes. Yeah.

H: I'm stuck now.

S: So you're kind of stuck in a difficult situation.

H: Very. Babies need a, you know they need everything.

S: Yeah, yeah of course.

H: I, I can't lie with myself every day. Even they ask me, in Home Office they ask me, "Where did you get the clothes, why you, where did you get this, where did you..." I say "Excuse me, I have been living here for 13 years. Even if I was blind I could find something. So you can't find me where I am them...or sort me out! Do something about my life! I told them a couple of times, "Please just give me a piece of paper, tell me 'We don't want you to be in here', but signed and stamped before me. Let me just walk out to Europe" They said no.

S: Oh really?

H: No decision, no this. Decision, they said we will send you home one day. I said When? Tell me the day, I don't care. And...Crazy.

S: Yeah OK.

H: Very strange.

S: Yeah it is. It's a, it seems like you're caught in some kind of...

H: Exactly, the same...

S: ...some sort of limbo, you're kind of in the middle, nobody knows what to do with you, is that right?

H: Exactly. I contact to MPs couple of times, I contact to, to too many different things. Straightaway even if you send the Home Office

tomorrow, if you send the letter tomorrow, couple of months after they send me a refuse.

S: Hmm.

H: Just too much blah blah blah and...

S: Mmm. OK. Eh, so it does seem that your situation is very different from most people..?

H: My situation is very different, I think, 97% different from most people.

S: Yeah. Em, because obviously most people who are living here, even if they're asylum seekers they can, they can get...

H: ...Accommodation, and they get weekly,,,

S: ...and a weekly allowance, yes.

H: ...and a weekly...

S: ...Right. But you don't have National Insurance number...

H: Nothing!

S: ...so you can't get a jobseeker allowance either. You can't...

H: Nothing!

S: You can get nothing.

H: I can't get any support in UK.

S: But, the government, the home office is not trying to deport you, they're not trying to send you back..?

H: Yes, they did.

S: Oh, they did try..?

H: They did try to send me home, in 2007.

S: OK.

H: I keep reporting, I had interview in, before I went to interview I received phone call from immigration from London. I remember my English was very bad. I don't, my English now is better than before...

S: But at that time...

H: That time was very bad. And I heard, I received a phone call, I said Hello? She said "Are you XX?" I said "Yes". She said "I am calling from immigration, trans...like a report...I heard something like a, we gonna report you." I said "OK". She said "Your ticket is ready to send you home".

S: OK.

H: And I remember I said, I knew this word for a long time, I told her "If you think my ticket is ready I will suicide myself tonight, you will see me on newspaper". I said this one, I can remember the sentence. You know what she said to me? She said "Go do whatever you want, you suicide yourself, you kill yourself. Your ticket is ready".

S: Wow. OK.

H: But that time I had no good phone to record her voice to take to the court. She don't have to tell me that I go suicide yourself, kill yourself, whatever you want. Your ticket is ready. When that was happen, I had interview in Aberdeen's airport, 19, I think 19 January 2008.

S: Right.

H: Was an interview. After 52 signature in police station. I signed in police station every week. Without dealing, without late, without problems...

S: Mmhmm.

H: ...I always been on time. I went to Aberdeen airport. I had interview for 45 minutes. More than 45 minutes I think. And they took maybe 40-60 pictures from me. Stand on the wall, picture, right, left, up, everywhere. I said "I'm not the terrorist man, what happened? Why you guys are taking too many pictures? Take five, four pictures, a finger stamp – enough!" They said "No this is our job". After interview when I walked out and I left Inverness, I fed up from this kind of things.

S: So that's when you came back to Glasgow?

H: I came to Glasgow 2008, after January. I came to Glasgow then. I had, I have some friends here. So I lived with them, in their house, in their flats. They got indefinite leave and...

S: Yeah, OK,

H: Yeah we came together, and they, like, not together in the same car or same airline but we came in the same time, like one month different or 10 days different or...But they all received everything.

S: OK. Is it something to do with, because most Kurdish refugees here are from Iraq, and you're from Iran is that right?

H: Iran.

S: Is that the problem?

H: It is big problem.

S: And that's why the, they won't accept it or...

H: No, no no no. Too many, thousand thousand situation the same as mine.

S: Uhuh.

H: Straightaway without interview, everything they received.

S: Oh, OK.

H: But, there's something is...

S: OK, there's...

H: Everything by Allah, by God. It's not, so, I don't mind. Because I'm always, anything is come to me, good or bad, I just say thanks for God. Just be strong like that.

S: Yeah, OK. So you've had a lot of problems but you seem able to accept things...

H: Yeah always God help me to, to sort everythings out.

S: OK. Now in your life here, em, I know that you're very involved with the Kurdish community and with the local mosque and things like that.

H: Yeah. It is.

S: Em, do you spend most of your time with other Kurdish people or other Muslim people, or do you mix with Scottish people as well?

H: I...I mix, I, I use time, I spend time with all kind people. I don't mind. But I don't spend time with like a socialised life with, with everyone. I have Scottish family friends here. I have Scottish boys friends, I know woman, I know businessmen, I know too many people. Scottish people.

S: Yeah.

H: Even I need anything – a letter, a reference for home office – I know they do straight away.

S: Right, OK.

H: Anything I want they never say no to me. That's mean I have, that's mean I'm involved...

S: Yeah.

H: I'm involved everybody, but I'm not involved like your social life. You do something, you going to pub? I'm not going to pub. But outside the pub I'm your friend, I don't mind. This is, this is your life. I'm going to mosque, you're not coming. But outside the mosque you're my friend.

S: Yeah, OK.

H: So this kind, I'm like that. I don't make a different between any other people. It's like God say in Quran, it is no different between any other – white, black, yellow – everyone's the, God created nicely. So no matter your neighbour is Muslim, Jew, Christian...Prophet Mohammed *alayhi as-salaam* always said - no matter who is your neighbour, at least he's not against you. Don't against him. Respect each other, speak to each other. But something he don't like, your attitude? You don't pick it, and he don't pick yours. So that's, we pick good things from each other, respect each other. That's it, that's it, the word in the Quran.

S: Yeah, yeah. OK.

H: I follow this kind of things I don't follow...well relicism? Like some people who very...like racism?

S: Oh racism, yeah.

H: I don't like this kind of things. Cause I know one day I die, one day I leave, so if I one day I leave this class, so better good, better to leave with good manner, and to leave good things behind you. Not bad things, not "I'm glad he's no here anymore".

S: Sure, so you're living in a country where, you know, there are lots of different religions and things, Christianity is the biggest religion here I suppose...

H: That's true.

S: But you know for you, Islam is a very important part of your life.

H: It's my religion, yeah.

S: It's your religion, but it's also, it also affects how you live your life, on a daily basis yeah?

H: Sure.

S: Does that make it difficult for you, to be part of Scottish society or Scottish communities? Do you find it for example you said maybe you have friends, but they go to the pub – you're not going to go to the pub.

H: Yeah.

S: Does, does it make your life difficult? Em or do you feel that it's easy enough for you to follow your religion, follow the life that you want to follow, em even though you're living in a non-Muslim country.

H: I, I have to answer first.

S: Sure.

H: First answer is the people who I know who's going to pub, they never forcing me to taking to the pub. The people who he know me, I never force them to come to the mosque. But that's good things, I know about my religion, I don't force them but I would like to advise them.

S: I see. Uhuh.

H: The good thing is that he know it's the same. He try to told me. But we always keep the balance and we always don't bring the religion between our relationships.

S: I see.

H: That's the first thing.

S: Yeah.

H: The second things, like I said everywhere's have good and bad. Like even here, in my country, everywhere. Depends of your manner. Depends of – of or on?

S: On.

H: Depends on your, how, how you use your, like, I don't know, how you speak, your respect. Depends your situation.

S: Right.

H: Nobody forced me to tell me "Why did you go to the mosque?" Nobody against me to tell me "You are Muslim, what are you doing here?" For 13 years.

S: You've had no problems like this?

H: I have no, like, a personal problem. Like a personal problem. But like a major...majority?

S: Majority.

H: Majority, sometime people don't know anything, they following the media, they against me for no reason because he don't know. And sometime the politics, the government, make innocent people to against each other. I blame government, I never blame innocent people here.

S: OK, so that's interesting, so you're saying that your personal experiences and your contact with Scottish people, and living in communities here, you've had no problems...

H: Never.

S: But, you feel that perhaps from above, from the government...

H: yeah, from the government, they separate the people and religion to make a red line here – "Don't cross this line!" and it's like that. I think that everywhere the government make problem between people. We can live together, we can talk together, we can stay together, we can listen to each other, we can...I don't think, I don't see any problems. But sometimes people don't read, don't speak, don't talk, don't find out what's going on. If I don't open this book, why I should judge the book? Don't judge a book without reading it.

S: Of course. Yeah, don't judge a book by the cover.

H: Don't...by the cover. So I don't want...some people judge people when he sees..."Oh he's a Muslim" – just run away from him. He don't know what is in my heart. Everyone run away from problem, I run away from problem too, you protect your family. I wanna protect your family. This is my opinion and about the religion, my religion is like that. If someone explain in different ways or badly it's, he's a bad. Religion is not bad. I'm a bad person not Muslim. Or when some Muslim people making big mistakes under, behind the Islam. Islam is not bad. The person is bad.

S: Yeah.

H: If he follow the book he will respect the wee bird, not even the human being.

S: Yeah. OK that is interesting then, so if the problem is, the problem is not with the people, in your experience, the problem is with the government, with the system.

H: Yes, it's above.

S: What do you think should change then? How could the government change things to make it perhaps easier for people to live peacefully together?

H: You know if you live...small example.

S: Mhm?

H: If I stay in my house and the Dad and I have a couple of boys and a couple of girls. If the Dad is bad, he give the bad rules out, my kids will follow the rules...

[someone walks into the room]

S: Sorry XX we just need 2 minutes

H: The government's, I don't know, if it makes sense or not.

S: Go on.

H: The government is like, he make the rules yesterday or last month he said if you drive, if you use your phone behind the wheel I will ban you, or I will give you 6 points and give you a fine.

S: Yeah. I read that, yeah.

H: OK, if government, first of all, fix himself, when they fix themselves people already fixed.

S: Uhuh?

H: Why they can to bring new system out, like the system we heard yesterday. Why they can do that, even they can't bring new system, like make a list. If any Muslim people cross a line that's a punishment. Send them home. One year's prison, send them home. Even if Christian against another religion, the fine is 1 year's – equal, make it equal – one year's prison or £600 charge. Then put a tag on his leg. For one year. If you make a rule, a balanced rule, I don't think...

S: So at the moment do you think the rules are maybe pushed one direction so that maybe one group of people are the victims, one group...

H: Yeah, one group is there. They don't want to control. They can, but they don't want. They thought, if they control these groups the Muslim or other people going like, maybe being more bad and more successful. But I can't explain, it's too many things in my mind, in my head...

S: It's a big question.

H: Yeah

S: It's a difficult question to answer.

H: But I, my answer is, first of all government should fix themselves.

S: Mmm, OK.

H: See what Trump has did.

S: Yeah.

H: But I'm glad Britain very clever, especially parliament in Britain, in Scotland is...people always happy about them.

S: OK, OK. Eh Let's talk a little about your ESOL course, the fact that you're studying ESOL now. Because for a long time you couldn't study, you didn't get a place on an ESOL course is that right?

H: I...

S: You tried to apply...

H: I have been trying and I applied since 2011.

S: Right OK.

H: I applied in XX College, XX College, I applied in XX College, I applied in too many places. I didn't get any chance to study, that's why my English is very break

S: Ah but it's getting better.

H: Yeah, of course since I started here, I much appreciate for that. I can see my, I can see my writing better, my reading is more more better, and my speaking, I can think about the grammar now...

S: Do you think, I mean, having an ESOL course and learning English in this kind of situation, in a college – how helpful is this for you? I mean is it, do you think it's, is it going to help you in your life outside?

H: Definitely. No question. Very useful and I think this course and next course as well, will change my life. Because it's improved already, I can see. Even when I speak with some people, they said "Your English is very different".

S: OK

H: ...much better.

S: Why is it important for you to have good English? Because, you know, in your life you spend a lot of time with other Kurdish-speaking people. Why is English...?

H: Yeah, you know...

S: ...so important for you?

H: A wise man in my country always said if you know one more language that's mean you are two person.

S: OK.

H: So I am only one at the moment because I know my mother language. If I learn good, proper English that's mean I am two person. Not only one.

S: OK.

H: So that's why you can, when you know very many, can speak English, you can make your life easier, you can find good jobs, you can help people, you can help different immigrants, you can...when you speak you can make everythings easier, because you live here. I think, like I said you will be two person.

S: OK. Is it, when, if we think about your motivations, your reasons for learning English, is it mostly kind of personal? To help you to kind of do better in Scottish life? Or is it, is it more about giving you an extra skill that you can, I don't know, do something a bit wider, maybe make a difference?

H: I told you, I say something, it's up to you if you believe or not.

S: Of course.

H: When someone, or some people, or the country, who been good to me, I would like to pay back something. Even I cannot pay by money, even I cannot pay [fine?]. Even I cannot pay back something big, but I still can pay back by good manner.

S: OK. Yeah.

H: So the manner I want to pay back, I can't pay them back by no speak English. But when I learn English I can pay back by good manner. Even advice, this is still good things. Even to take one [deal?] people from tourist hostel to another hostel, this is a manner. I want to pay back things how much I can. Because I spent my half age here, my half life. So I'm 35, I been here since 2003. It's been long. The important thing is I want to pay back something. Even I don't...I know I can never be a

doctor, I can never be a teacher, because it's too late you know for this kind of things, out...skills, out anything, but I still want to learn something in the future, to help this country like you help.

S: Yeah?

H: This is my opinion, up to the people, it's me, I'm like that.

S: So you would like to give something to the people of Scotland, the UK, you'd like to give something back?

H: 100%. I spoke to one guy one day, a Scottish guy he had a furnitures. I know him because of someone else. He told me "I have some furniture, can you come and help us and I'll give you some money". I don't mean to talk about the money, but I said "OK I don't mind about the money, I'll help you." We put all his furnitures out, about 5, 4 hours, and after when I finished he said "Is there in Kurdistan it's like that? In the country you live, you guys help people?" I said "Yes. We don't mind at all." He said, "Oh, I know too many things about your country", he was like a historic man.

S: Oh, OK.

H: Yeah he was a good man. And I said "What do you know about my country?" He said "About the politics, and about your country, it's been occupied", and he told me too many things. Some thing he knew that I never heard before. And I asked him one question. Before I asked him the question he said "Do you love this country, do you want to stay here?" I said "Look", I'm going to say something, maybe I say something you don't believe me, but do by act. "If something like that happen", I said, "I am not going, I am not following you, to come to French, to fight with the French or to occupy French". An example, I just give him example. He said "OK". I said "But, if tomorrow French tried to occupy this land I will pick up the gun with you and I will fight for it". And he was surprised, he said "How, like, how did you think that about this country?" I said "We are like that. When we live somewhere, we protect people and we don't mind."

S: OK. I'm interested about this because you've told me how the government has really not treated you very well, you know. You've had some bad experiences from the ...

H: from government

S: ...from the government, which represents this country, but you still have a...

H: I don't do it for government, I do for people.

S: Right.

H: I do it for, for country. I don't care about...like I told you if someone, if someone is bad I don't have to look at all people bad because he's bad.

S: So you still feel that the, the people are, you have some kind of connection with Scotland and Scotland's people?

H: Yeah, yeah of course.

S: OK, that's interesting. Can I just ask you one more question?

H: Yeah of course I don't mind.

S: I don't want to take up too much of your time, but the, the Scottish, as you know, colleges like this place, most of our money comes from the Scottish government, so if the government wants us to do something we, we have to listen to that. One thing that the government would, they have have a list of things that Scottish, well ESOL courses in Scottish colleges must have. So, all ESOL courses that we have here should help people to participate actively in Scottish life. That's the phrase they use – "participate actively in Scottish life". So, I suppose I've got two questions. First, what do you understand by that, what does that mean to you? And then secondly, do you think that this ESOL course is helping you to do that?

H: About second question, I did understand, but the first question, I can answer the second question about the ESOL.

S: OK.

H: Yeah, totally I, it is very helpful and very useful for me and I'm sure for other people as well, for other students, and I am...

S: Is...

H: Sorry.

S: Sorry is, it what you expected it would be, or is it a bit different maybe?

H: I, I didn't expect it to be like that, this college. But the way, now I know, I expect more than that in the future.

S: OK. What's, what's different from, the reality compared to your expectations before you started?

H: Mmm, the difference from real, the reality is that now I'm improved and I'm learned, that's the proof, that's the reality, but...expectation?

S: Yeah...

H: I, I didn't expect that one day I can speak and I can learn the way I learn today.

S: OK...

H: Yeah, so I didn't expect that one day I can speak comfortably, and I can write better than before, and I can spelling good. I'm not saying I'm that much good, but...if I continue the ESOL classes in this college, I am sure that in a couple of years' time you will see me, I'm a different person.

S: Hmm, OK, OK.

H: But the first question I, sorry I didn't get that.

S: Alright we'll go back. The first question was about the Scottish government says that ESOL programmes in colleges here must help people to participate actively in Scottish life, OK? So I'm interested to know how...what, what does that mean to you? The idea of participating actively in Scottish life?

H: I understand now. OK, it's mean they try to help people more. They want to show, we want to make people's life more better.

S: OK.

H: They want to show we want to help people, immigrant people or other different peoples, they want to show we want to make our people educate, educated, and fully skilled. And to be active for them futures, for their futures life.

S: I see. OK.

H: I'm, that's my understanding about this point.

S: Do you...OK that's fine. Do you think that there, do you think that they want immigrants to be more like Scottish people? Or do they want immigrants to stay as they are but just be more actively involved?

H: If we go back for religions. If government limit the religions, definitely they want. But if you don't talk about religions, I think, I don't know, to use the word for a government benefits or everything has a reason. You teach, you support your kids for some reason – because they are your kids, your responsibility. But sometime the government help people – I don't know how I can describe this kind of things – maybe something you, we don't know about. But to me I don't think this country against immigrant people, I don't think so. Because I have been living here, I saw too many things. This country against them, I don't think everybody's like bad people, but sometimes they have a right to protect the country to make sure bad things no happen in their country. Sometimes people, they can, like immigrant, they will be like a fight for their country. I never blame government about, for this kind of things. I always stand with government, with people.

S: OK, OK.

H: But I, I don't really know. Because you know government when they said [points to phone on table] "This is a phone"...I know they said "this is a phone" but maybe too many things behind why they said "This is a phone".

S: Ah, so you think, OK, OK so when we read this thing, "immigrants should participate actively in Scottish life"...

H: You don't have to believe everything it's said, you don't have to believe it. But we have to understand and listen. Maybe one day...maybe something is correct, but something is not.

S: OK. What would be the correct thing for you? I mean do you think that when immigrants come to Scotland, maybe it's important I suppose for them to learn about Scottish life. But do they need to change themselves to become more like Scottish people? Or maybe Scottish people should change themselves, maybe to be more welcoming...

H: This is, the important thing is welcome – it's enough for people.

S: Right.

H: When you said, when I come to your house, and you told me "Welcome", that's mean you're happy. It doesn't mean you're unhappy.

But when I come to your house it's not my rule. It's your rule, your house. So you can tell me Go to the front room, sleep.

S: Mhm.

H: And you can pick the living room for me to sleep or you can tell me go out...you can give me a rule, I cannot, I cannot choose what I want, in the beginning. After that, when we know each other good, when I know the gov... and I know the rule, when I learn the rules...but the responsibility first you taught me. "This is a kitchen, this is a sugar" – you teach me everything. When you taught me, after that you know I am on the line. Tell me "If you spend 3, more than 3 spoons sugar you get fined £10."

S: (laughs) OK.

H: Do you know..?

S: Yeah, I understand what you're saying, uhuh.

H: I think government first of all he need to teach people.

S: OK.

H: Don't...because when we come we are already stress.

S: Yeah.

H: I came to your house to take a stress away from me, I don't come to make a more stress. Why don't you have a house? Why you come here? We don't have a food, we don't have a this...I like you take my hand and you teach me something. After that, when you teach me all of this, when you spent all this time - if any mistakes, I'm responsible.

S: Right. OK.

H: So government is responsible first to provide something for you. House and money, like weekly money or a house. Or, give me piece of paper to work, I don't need money, I don't need house – give to someone else who disabled...

S: Right.

H: ...who cannot work. Who's injured.

S: Yeah.

H: I'm, I'm a person who very active. Don't make me unactive, don't make me more stressed. But do but, some person is stressed, more stressed, he start do bad things.

S: Right so it's about making sure that you feel comfortable, and that you can do the things that you want to do, but you don't have some kind of stress to do any new things, anything different..?

H: Like, like when I came yesterday he gave me a refuse. He took me out in a hotel. He told me "Go on the street". So it's give you more stress. Sometimes when you don't have money, you don't have anything, you try to find a way, even to live, to survive yourself. You have no choice. I think my idea is government good to support first. But if you don't support, give him a paper so he can work. When he don't work, he's fight, well this kind of people don't let them stay in your country. Just take a benefit for no

reason. Benefit benefit and work behind, benefit and work behind. I don't like this kind of things. I don't like it.

S: Yeah. You'd prefer to, to make a contribution then, to do something?

H: Yeah. To do something yeah.

S: OK, OK.

H: So...I don't know, it's my...

S: Yeah, no it's great, it's very interesting to hear your point of view because you've had a, you know, it's not been an easy experience for you, your years in the UK, living in Scotland, it's been difficult. But you know, you've still, you know, you've managed to find - somehow...

H: Yeah I did...

S: ...to get a life for yourself here.

H: I, I did I'm, I'm very happy now because I have wife and I have no problem, and I have, especially I am very healthy. When you healthy that's mean you have all the world. Sometime maybe I am unwell. What do I do with a British passport or a Kurdish passport or, or Iranian passport? Or what good is a thousand thousand billion pound in my account? What am I do?

S: ...If you're sick...?

H: Nothing, absolutely nothing. But I'm healthy now, that's everything for me.

S: OK, that's good. OK good, I think I've taken up enough of your time so I appreciate it, thanks very much XX.

H: You're very welcome and I'm sorry if I don't make everything was clear for you.

S: It's great, it's great. Thank you very much.